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CORRIGENDA

JRAS, OCTOBER, 1935.

p. 631, l. 11, for *pāp*[2] read *pāp*[3]; for *Bágwān*[5] read *Bágwān*[4].

l. 13, for *yogya*[4] read *yogya*[5]

p. 636, l. 7, for following read preceding.

p. 639, l. 4, for *mī-m*[2] read *mī-m*[3].

l. 9, for *-ĕi-p*[3] read *-ĕi-p*.

l. 6 from bottom, for [3] *p* (etc.) read [3] *-p* (etc.).

last line, delete "[5] See previous footnote".

p. 650, ll. 28-9 should read as follows

2nd pers. sing. *qā-nā* (sing.) *-nā* (sing.)

qā-nī (plur.) *-nī* (plur.)

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1936
PART I.—JANUARY

Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century

BY HENRY GEORGE FARMER

"The harp (*chang*) in magic craft is great of worth,
It brings the new moon down from heaven to earth.
The pandore (*tanbūr*) pursues its humours e'er;
If thou would have it sing, then twist its ear.
The pandore can't grapple with the lute (*'ūd*);
Then why torment itself when naught can boot?
A spell it sings when chants the psaltery (*qānūn*);
It is the ruler for love's register.
No tambourine (*daf*) deem that in the minstrel's hand,
A target 'tis woe's arrows to withstand.
What wonder if it all the world o'erthrow?—
The bandit viol's (*kamāncha*) armed with shaft and bow.
Amid the feast to call me into mind
The flute (*nai*) a thread doth round its finger bind.
Where bides one like the ghittern (*qūpūz*) sweet of say,
The chosen, the elect of the array?
Since joy of soul doth from their voices tide,
Withouten music let no party bide."

Rawānī (d. 1523–4), *'Ishrat Nāma*
Translated by Gibb.

ONE of the most complete and entertaining accounts of the instruments of music of Turkey is that given by the chatty and voluble, though highly imaginative writer, Ewliyā Chelebī (1611–ca. 1669). Although his family held high

appointments at the Ottoman court, yet young Ewliyā yearned for a literary career and, like many such Parnassian aspirants, began his public life as a *ḥāfiẓ* in Aya Sofia on the *Lailat al-ḳadr* of 1045 (= A.D. 1636), when he attracted the notice of Sultan Murād IV, who took him into the royal household. Here he was specially favoured, mainly on account of his musical and literary gifts. He had been taught music and singing by one of the best masters of the day, the Khalwatī dervish 'Umar Gulshanī, who lived to the great age of 140 years, himself having been taught by the eminent shaikh Ibrāhīm Gulshanī (d. 1533–4) of Cairo. After two years' service as a *muṣāḥib*, Ewliyā began his travels which have made him famous.[1]

The Turkish text of certain extracts from the first part of his travels was published at Constantinople in 1843 (= A.H. 1259) under the title of *Muntakhabāt Ewilyā Chelebī*. Von Hammer issued part of the travels in English as a *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century by Evliya Efendi* (London, 1846–1850).[2] It contains two sections on instruments of music, as well as frequent references to them elsewhere.

Although Von Hammer's translation has been available for many years, and the present writer has quoted from it frequently, there were many statements in it that were not only incomprehensible but also incongruous. When a fresh text of the travels was issued (*Siyāha nāma*, Constantinople, 1896–1900 = A.H. 1314–1318),[3] it was hoped that some of the doubtful passages in Von Hammer's translation would be cleared up. It so happened, however, that in many cases the printed text only increased the confusion. Fortunately the Royal Asiatic Society possessed a manuscript of the

[1] He may, however, have quitted the seraglio in 1636, as it appears that he was a *sipāhi* in the expedition against Erivan in this year.

[2] It appears to have been published in parts, the first part being issued in 1834. Vol. i, comprising parts 1 and 2, was published in 1846, whilst vol. ii appeared in 1850.

[3] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, ii, 34.

Siyāḥa nāma, probably the only one in Britain,[1] and this the society was kind enough to deposit on loan at the University of Glasgow for my benefit. I was thus able to compare it with both the printed text and Von Hammer.

The collation revealed that the printed text differs widely from the R.A.S. manuscript, whilst Von Hammer's translation is only an epitome. Of course, I was only interested in the parts which dealt with music, and having altered what I considered necessary in Von Hammer's translation of these parts, I sent the results to my good friend Ra'ūf Yektā Bey, a Co-Director of the Conservatory of Music at Constantinople, who was kind enough not only to revise my work but to add a number of notes. These latter I have incorporated in this article under the rubric *RY*. Similarly the initials *VH*. = Von Hammer, *PT*. = Printed Text, *MS*. = R.A.S. Manuscript.

I have also used the *Thesaurus* (1680–87) of Meninski, who was a contemporary of Ewliyā Chelebī, because it occasionally supplements the descriptions of the *Siyāḥa nāma*.[2]

§ 1

Ewliyā Chelebī as a Musician

As we have seen, Ewliyā was a trained musician, not only in vocal and instrumental music but in the theory of music (*'ilm mūsīqī*). At his first appearance in the seraglio before Sulṭān Murād IV he astounded everyone by his ability, including the chief court musician, Amīr Guna. At first he caused some amusement by his boasting not only to sing in

[1] Nos. 22–3. Mordtmann (*Encyclopædia of Islām*, loc. cit.) is wrong in saying that the British Museum possesses a manuscript of the *Siyāḥa nāma*.

[2] Other authors quoted by me are: Ibn Ghaibī, *Jāmi' al-alḥān*, Bodleian Library, *Marsh* 282; *Kanz al-tuḥaf*, British Museum, *Or*. 2361; Villoteau, in *Description de l'Égypte* . . . (Paris, 1809); Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum* . . . (Lemgo, 1712); Niebuhr, *Voyage in Arabie* (Amsterdam, 1776–1780); Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (Lond., 1931); Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca* (Venice, 1787); Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique* (Paris, 1921); Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*.

any of the accepted forms such as the *kār*, *naqsh*, *ṣaut*, etc., but in Arabic, Persian, Syriac, Greek, or Hebrew! However, he sang a *wārsikī* (mystic song) with a bejewelled *dā'ira* in his hand which the sulṭān had given him. His success was instantaneous and he was made a *muṣāḥib* or "companion".

Fortunately for history and letters, he did not remain long as an inmate of the seraglio, but soon began his travels, sometimes on his own account, but often attached to the suite of some pāshā or other, frequently as *mu'adhdhin pāshī* or chief of the callers to prayer. He tells us that he was "at all times delighted to be in the company of musicians and singers", and throughout his travels he manages to say a word here and there about music.

It is because Ewliyā Chelebī was a musician that his description of the instruments of music of Turkey have particular value. Further, he tells us that in giving his account of the instruments of music, he consulted a book on the subject entitled the *Sāz nāma* by the poet Nihānī Chelebī, a work that I have not been able to locate. Although he informs us that he saw many more instruments during his travels in Persia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Poland, and Bohemia, it was with those of Constantinople that he was "more conversant". These instruments of Turkey he deals with in two special chapters, viz. (*a*) *the makers of the instruments*, and (*b*) *the players of the instruments*.[1] Here we have not only the most exhaustive list of Turkish instruments of music that has come down to us, but a complete census of both makers and players based directly upon the *Awṣāf kusṭanṭaniya* ("Praises of Constantinople"), a description of the city made in the year 1638 (= A.H. 1048) by order of the sultān, which includes an account of every professional and trade guild, as well as every building, in the city. Ewliyā also adds lists of the famous performers on most

[1] They are to be found in the works quoted as follows: (*a*) *VH.*, vol. i/ii, pp. 226–8; *PT.*, i, 620–5; *MS.*, i, 232–4v. (*b*) *VH.*, vol. i/ii, pp. 233–240; *PT.*, i, 632–643; *MS.*, i, 237v–242.

of the instruments mentioned by him. These will be of value when the time comes for a history of Turkish music to be written. We know, for instance, that the celebrated Turkish historian Ṣūlāq Zāda (d. 1657–8) was a performer on the *mithqāl*, *misqāl*, or *mūsīqār*, hence his surname Mithqālī.[1]

It is difficult to estimate the number of musicians in Constantinople in Ewliyā's day because, in spite of the careful figures given by him, his totals do not agree. In one place he says that the total number of musicians employed in the four districts of the capital was 4,000,[2] but as he says that they made their living by playing at festivals it would seem that he only refers, in this particular, to the unattached musicians. Indeed, if we reckon the number of instrumentalists alone we arrive at quite double this estimate. Further, this does not include singers. Of these there were 4,000 singers of hymns (*na't*)[3] in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, their patron being Muḥammad al-Būṣīrī (d. 1296–7), 300 other singers (*khwānanda*) whose patron was Ḥamza ibn Yatīm (*fl.* 600), as well as 700 callers to prayer (*mu'adhdhin*) who claimed Bilāl (d. 641) as patron.

Each guild had its patron saint (*pīr*). Perhaps the most important of the guilds was that of the military musicians (*ghālīji mihtar*). This numbered 300 men, and they claimed the mythical Jamshīd of the *Shāh nāma* as their patron. They had their quarters at the Iron Gate near the Palace Gardens. From their tower they played a military *nauba* of three parts (*faṣl*) twice daily. In addition there was the guild of the military musicians of the Seven Towers which numbered forty men. They also played twice daily at *al-'ishā* and *al-ṣabāḥ*, a custom introduced by Sulṭān Muḥammad II (1451–1481).

We can now consider the instruments listed and described

[1] I have not seen the form مصقال as given by Babinger in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, iv, 482.

[2] *PT.* and *MS.* have 1,000, which is obviously incorrect.

[3] The singular is given throughout this article.

by Ewliyā Chelebī which, for the sake of convenience, are classified as follows :—

(1) ***Instruments of Sonorous Substances***, i.e. the bell, cymbals, castanets or clappers, harmonica, Jew's harp, etc.

(2) ***Instruments of Vibrating Membranes***, i.e. the tambourine, kettle-drum, drum, etc.

(3) ***Wind Instruments***, i.e. the flute, recorder or flageolet, oboe, reed-pipe, clarionet, trumpet, etc.

(4) ***Stringed Instruments***, i.e. the harp, psaltery, dulcimer, lute and pandore, viol, etc.

§ 2

Instruments of Sonorous Substances

Bell

[The *chāⁿg* چاڭ (large bell) and *chiⁿgraq* چگرق (small bell). These are not mentioned by Ewliyā Chelebī, but they are given by Meninski.]

Meninski. "*Chāng* campana. *Chingrak*, *changraghū* tintinnabulum, cymbalum, tonus quidam musicus magnificentior, globulus vestiarius."

The larger bell, provided with a clapper, which equates with the Arabic *jaras* and the Persian *darā*, was used to hang on the necks of elephants and camels. The smaller bell, sometimes called a pellet bell, which was spherical, with metal pellets in the interior, was used on the necks of smaller animals and also on tambourines. See Gibb, *Hist. Ottom. Poet.*, iii. 11.

Harmonica

The *filjān sāz* فلجان ساز [musical bowl(s)]. Invented in India by the fireworshippers (*mughān*). One hundred players.

Meninski. Not given as an instrument of music.

RY. "It is pronounced *filjān* but written *finjān*. The celebrated Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) says that he invented [?] instruments called *kāsāt* and *tāsāt* [lit. "cups"], and I

understand that in the time of Ewliyā Chelebī these instruments were still in use by the Turks."

The word is derived from the Persian کنکان. Ibn Ghaibī describes the harmonica, especially with bowls of of china. The pitch of each bowl was determined by the amount of water placed in it. In India the instrument is called the *jālatharanginī*. It is delineated in a Persian MS. *Dar ʿilm al-mūsīqī* (Pers. 346: fol. 76 = 35) in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

Cymbals

The *zill* زل [cymbals]. [Mentioned but not described by Ewliya Chelebi.]

Meninski. "*Zill* = tintinnabulum, genus organi musici bellici, suntque duo orbes aerei, quorum unum alteri allidunt ad modum et resonantiam."

RY. "Classical music does not admit these instruments, but they are used in the religious ceremonies of the dervishes. See Lavignac, 3023."

Cymbals were a noteworthy feature in the military music of the Turks. See Marsigli, *Stato militare dell' impèrio ottomanno*, ii, 54–5, and pl.; Toderini, i, 238. They may also be seen in a well-known lithograph which has been reproduced by Lavignac (2981). For contemporary Persian instruments see Kaempfer, 740, and fig. 3. Modern examples may be seen at New York (No. 2164) which are 18 cm. in diameter.[1]

[1] The various catalogues of collections of instruments of music quoted by me are: New York = *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments of all Nations* (New York, 1904, et seq.); South Kensington Museum = Engel, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum* (Lond., 1874); Brussels = Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif . . . du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles* (Brussels, v.d.); Paris = Chouquet, *Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique. Catalogue . . .* (Paris, 1884), and supplementary catalogues by Pillaut (Paris, 1894; 1899; 1903).

Rattles

The *chaghana* چغنه ["Jingling Johnnie"]. Invented by Sirkhudā [of the *Shah Nāma*] in Persia. It is popular in European Turkey. Two hundred players.

VH. (*a*) چغانه ; (*b*) چغنه. *PT.* چغانه. *MS.* چغنه

Meninski. "*Chaghana*, *chāghana* = instrumentum musicum. *Chaghāna* = instrumentum ligneum instar sceptri, cui tria sunt inserta cymbalorum paria, quorum concussione musicus excitatur sonus."

RY. "The name of an instrument of music of old the form of which is unknown."

We know the form fairly well, since it was the "Jingling Johnnie" or Chapeau Chinois which was borrowed from the Turks by European military bands in the eighteenth century. For a design of the latter see Farmer, *Rise and Development of Military Music*, p. 76, and specimens may be seen at the United Service Institution, London, and the University of Edinburgh. Designs of the Turkish instrument are given in Wittman, *Travels in Turkey* . . . (Lond., 1803), Front., and the Egyptian instrument may be seen in Niebuhr, Tab. xxvii. A simpler form like a pair of tongs with three arms, small cymbals being attached to each arm, was known as the *zilli māshā* (jingling tongs). There are two specimens at New York (Nos. 353, 1377), 46 cm. and 51 cm. in length.

Clappers

The *chālpāra* چالپاره [clappers]. [Mentioned but not described by Ewliyā.]

VH. چالپره *PT.* چارہ جی رقص *MS.* چالپاره قاصان

Meninski. "*Chālpāra* = cochleae ex ligno, quas inter digitos numerose pulsant Orientales, longiores Hispanicis castagnettis. Item aliud lignum cum crepitaculis aeris ad eundem usum."

RY. "Identical with castanets."

The text must refer to the "dancer's clappers". The word is derived from the Persian *chārpāra* (lit. "four pieces"), which appears to stand for both clappers and castanets, whether of wood or of metal. Clappers and finger castanets are depicted in two exhibits at the Exhibition of Persian Art (London, 1931), Nos. 203 (*c*) and 584 respectively. Two modern examples of metal Turkish castanets are exhibited at New York (Nos. 380–1), which are 4 and 5 cm. in diameter.

Jew's Harp

The *aghz tanbūrasī* اغز طنبوره سی [Jew's harp]. Invented at Danzig. It is made of iron, of oval shape, with an iron tongue in the middle. Played by Russian and Polish boys. Two hundred players.

VH. (*a*) اغر hence "the *heavy* iron *tanbūr*". (*b*) A blank space is left for the name, and the instrument is not identified. *PT*. (*a*) اغبز (*b*) اغز. *MS*. (*a*) اعر (*b*) اغز.

Meninski. "*Aghz tanbūrasī* = crembalum (*Maultrommel*)."

RY. "Unknown to me."

I have not seen a representation of this instrument in the art of the Near and Middle East.

Comb and Paper (?)

The *shāna zammār* شانه زمار ["Comb and Paper"?]. [Mentioned but not described by Ewliyā Chelebī.]

VH. Has "*zummār*" only.

Meninski. Not given as an instrument of music, although the forms شانه ساز and شانه زدن occur.

RY. "Unknown to me."

Shāna = "a comb" in Turkish, and *zammār* = "a wind instrumentalist" in Arabic. One can only imagine that the "Comb and Paper" is meant.

§ 3

INSTRUMENTS OF VIBRATING MEMBRANES

Tambourines

The *daf* دف [round tambourine with metal plates]. **The Prophet Muḥammad said**: "Celebrate the wedding, and with the *daf* player." Therefore this instrument is considered lawful, but the legally permitted instrument must not have bells nor metal plates. During the Prophet's lifetime music was forbidden, but permission was granted to kings to use the *zūrnā* (oboe), *būrū* (clarion), *ṭabl* (drum), *daf* (tambourine), *qudūm* (kettledrum), *nāy* (flute), and *rabāb* (viol).

PT. Omits *daf* and *rabāb*.

Meninski. "*Daf* = tympanum simplex unius pellis, crotalum cum cymbalis quod manibus pulsatur, crepitacula disco inserta, cymbalum."

RY. "The *daf* and *dā'ira* are identical nowadays. Both are furnished with small metal plates."

In Persia, at the time of Ewliyā Chelebī, the *daf* had small metal plates whilst the *dā'ira* had small bells or jingling rings. See Kaempfer, 740, figs. 7, 8. A Turkish instrument (*ca.* 1600) may be seen in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lxvi. A modern Turkish *daf* is exhibited at South Kensington (No 1012-'69), 33·5 cm. in diameter. There is another at New York (No. 1362). The *daf* is praised by Rawānī (d 1523-4). See Gibb, ii, 342, 346.

The *dā'ira* دائره [round tambourine with bells]. It was first played at the nuptials of Solomon (Sulaimān) and the Queen of Sheba (Balqīs). It was also played at the wedding of 'Alī and Fāṭima [624] by 'Amr ibn Umayya Ḍamirī and Ḥamza ibn Yatīm. In consequence of this the former is considered the patron of tambourine players. There are fifty-five makers with ten shops, and 500 players.

PT (*b*) "ten players".

Meninski. "*Dā'ira* = cymbalum, seu tympanum manuale una tantum parte tectum cum tintinnabulis."

RY. "There is another type of tambourine called the *mazhar* which has no metal plates [nor bells]."

Obviously this instrument received this name by reason of its round shape in contradistinction from the square instrument دف مربع which is sometimes referred to. All these round tambourines occur frequently in Turkish and Persian art and a contemporary (seventeenth century) example may be seen in Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668), p. 137. Modern Turkish examples of the *dā'ira* are preserved at New York (Nos. 319, 2485). The former has an octagonal shell and is 25·5 cm. in diameter. The latter is quite a large instrument being 48·5 cm.

Kettledrums

The *kūs* كوس [large kettledrum]. The patron of kettle-drum players is the Chinese [Tatar ?] K͟hāqān, hence the reason that this instrument is called the *k͟hāqānī kūs*. In the wars of the Prophet Muḥammad [d. 632] the *kūs* and *naqqāra* (small kettledrum) were played by the Indian Bābā Sawindīk who is buried at Mosul (Mauṣil). The establishment of the kettle-drummers is a large building within the Wooden Gate. There are 150 of these military kettledrums carried by camels,[1] besides larger ones carried by elephants, as in the expedition of Sulṭān 'Uthmān [1286–1326][2] against Khotin (K͟hūtin). They are also used during Muslim festivals and at the audiences of the ambassadors of the eighteen monarchs of the world.

Meninski. "*Kūs* = ahenotympanum majus in castris et

[1] Elsewhere in his Travels he describes a procession with eighty kettle-drums being carried by forty white camels.

[2] It may refer to 'Uthmān II, who was unsuccessful against Khotin in 1620.

palatiis Regum Orientalium, immo et nostratium pulsari solitum."

RY. "It was used by the Turks in battle. Its size was enormous and the shell was made of brass. The Military Museum at Constantinople contains the kettledrums which were used by the Janissaries [who were disbanded in 1826]."

They are depicted in a Turkish MS. (*ca.* 1538) reproduced in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lv.

The *qudūm* قدوم [medium kettledrum]. Invented by Hūshang. On the nuptial night of the Prophet Muḥammad and Khadija [595], according to the biography of the Prophet by Jarir, the *qudūm* was used in company with the *nāy* (flute) and *rabāb* (viol). In consequence these instruments are to be found in the convents of dervishes. Five hundred players.

VH. For "trumpet" read "kettledrum".

Meninski. "*Qudūm* = tympanum exiguum geminum, quod alternatim pulsatur."

RY. "The *qudūm* is much smaller than the *kūs* and a little larger than the *naqqāra*. It is employed, in pairs, in the convents of the dervishes in company with the *nai* or *nāy* (flute). It is beaten with club-shaped sticks (*zakhma*)."

The father of Muhammad As'ad, commonly called Ghālib Dada (d. 1799), the Turkish poet, was a *qudūm* player at a dervish convent in Constantinople. When Ewliya was himself admitted into the dervish order a *qudūm* was one of the emblems of dervishship conferred on him. An early seventeenth century miniature depicting a dervish *dhikr* to the accompaniment of the *qudūm* and *nāy* was reproduced by Maggs Bros. in their catalogue (No. 401) entitled *Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures, European and Oriental* (1921), pl. cii.

The *naqqāra* نقاره [small kettledrum]. Invented in Arabia by Ḥārith Yamani. It is played in the Arabian cafés. One hundred players

VH. (*a*) نقره (*b*) نقره. *PT.* (*a*) نقرق (*b*) نقریق.
MS. (*a*) نقره ق (*b*) نقره.

Meninski. "*naqāra*, vulg. *naghara* = ahenotympanum minus ex duobus ahenis compositum quod duobus bacillis pulsatur."

RY. "Ordinarily the *naqqāra* is held in the left hand [and played with the right], but is sometimes suspended from the neck. When played in pairs the term *chifta naqqāra* is used. Among the gipsies of Turkey it is called the *na'ra*."

This was also a military kettledrum and was used in pairs. See *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lv, for a design of the sixteenth century. For a contemporary instrument see also Marsigli, *Stato militare dell' impèrio Ottomanno* (1732), ii, 54–5, pl. xviii. For seventeenth century Persian instruments see Kaempfer, 743, figs. 9 and 10, which show the respective sizes of the *naqqāra* and *kūs*. A modern Turkish chamber music *naqqāra* (a pair) may be seen at New York (No. 2487), 6·5 and 4·5 cm. in diameter.

The *tabl bāz* طبل باز [hawking kettledrum]. It was first played by the Prophet Ishmael (Ismā'īl). It is therefore a lawful instrument. One hundred players.

VH. طبل طبل instead of طبل باز.

Meninski. "*Tabl-bāz* = tympanum exiguum, quod equorum ephippiis fere affigitur."

RY. "It is a mistake to think that this word is composed of *tabl* = 'drum' and *bāz* = 'falcon'. *Bāz* signifies 'player', hence *tabl bāz* means 'a drummer', just as *huqqa bāz* means 'a juggler'."

On the other hand there is considerable testimony that *tabl bāz* refers to a type of drum. The phrase in Ewliyā Chelebi سازندهٔ طبل باز proves this. It is the name of a drum in the Persian lexicons and is specifically mentioned as such by Kaempfer, 742, fig. 11. See also Villoteau, i, 724, 994, and Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xviii.

Modern Turkish specimens may be seen at New York (Nos. 363, 1335). It is held in the hand and struck with a leathern strap.

The *chümlak dunbalakī* چوملك دنبلكی **(earthenware kettle-drum).** Invented in Egypt and played in the procession of **the *Maḥmal*** going to Mecca. Five hundred players.

VH., *PT.*, *MS.* have دنبلكی, دونبلكی, and دبلكی.

Meninski. "*Dunbalak* = parvulum tympanum ex aere, etiam ex terra pelle obductum, quo pueri utuntur. *Ṭablak*, vulg. *dunbalak* = tympanum ex duabus ollis tergo conjunctis et corio superinductis: et mitra, pileolus vitta."

RY. "I do not know a *dumbalak* (= ***dunbalak***) by this specific name, but the instrument is sometimes made of earthenware. Nowadays the Turks give the name ***dumbalak*** to a type of kettledrum (*naqqāra*) which they play together with the *dāwul* (common drum)."

Toderini, i, 239, says that *dunbalak* is another name for the *naqqāra*. A modern Turkish specimen may be seen at New York (No. 1538).

The *jām dunbalakī* جام دنبلكی (glass kettledrum). The patron of the players on this instrument is 'Aṣim Ṭā'ifī. Two hundred players.

PT. (*a*) جان (*b*) جام. *MS.* جام.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "I do not know an instrument by this name but possibly, in the past, a type of *dumbalak* was made with a glass shell."

The *Yaman dunbalakī* يمن دنبلكی (Yaman kettledrum). It is played in company with the *dā'ira* (tambourine). Twelve players.

VH. (*a*) Omitted. *PT.* (*b*) Seventeen players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

Among the instruments of the Near East, the only type of drum that may be considered peculiar to the Yaman is the

rattle drum similar to the *budbudiki* of India. It is delineated by Niebuhr, i, 146, Tav. xxvi, S., but he does not mention its name.

The *muqarran dunbalakī* مقرن دنبلكی [paired kettle-drum]. The performers on it, who come from Mecca, play it in the processions at Constantinople. Thirteen players.

VH. (a) مقرم (b) مقرقه. *PT.* (a) مقرنه (b) مقرقه. *MS.* (a) مقرنه (b) مقرقه.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

For Meccan drums see *JRAS.* (1929), p. 505, and Farmer, *Studies in Orient. Mus. Instruments*, i, 87.

The *Ayyūb dunbalakī* ايوب دنبلكی [Job's kettledrum]. [Mentioned but not described by Ewliyā.]

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

The pulsatile instrument which Job places in the hands of the "wicked" is the tambourine (*toph*). Job, xxi, 12.

Drums

The *dāwul* داول [cylindrical drum]. The first of the Ottomans to use it was Urkhān Ghāzī [1326–1359], and a drum (*ṭabl*) still hangs at his tomb at Brusa. Fifteen makers with five shops.

VH. and *MS.* have طاول instead of داول, both being vulgar forms of the Arabic طبل and Persian دهل.

Meninski. "*Ṭāwul, dāwul* = tympanum."

RY. "It is the big drum. This *dāwūl* (داوول) with the *zūrnā* (oboe) forms the music of the peasantry in Asia Minor."

The Turks appear to have had their military drum *before* the time of Urkhān Ghāzī. When 'Uthmān I (1288–1326) was made a prince by 'Alā al-Dīn in 1289, he was invested with a drum, a flag, and a *ṭūq*. The *dāwul*, which is identical with the double headed cylindrical drum of

Europe, was known in various sizes from the small side drum to the large bass drum. The larger sizes were the more general with the Turks. One head was beaten with an ordinary oriental drumstick (*changal*) and the other with a switch (*daynak*). The *dāwul* of Ewliyā's day is shown by Marsigli, op. cit., pl. xviii, and Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pl. 96 (*ca.* 1630). See also Villoteau, i, 996, and Toderini, i, 239. The illustration given here is from a MS. in the Bodleian Library. A Persian *duhul* may be seen in a MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 29, fol. 428v. For a curious example of a Turkish *dāwul* played on horseback see a plate in Coeck, *Les mœurs . . . des Turcz* (1553), reproduced by W. Stirling Maxwell, *The Turks in 1553* (1873), and by S. L. Poole, *Turkey* (1888), p. 29.

§ 4

WIND INSTRUMENTS

Flutes

The *qawūl* قوال [rustic flute]. This was the first instrument of music. Invented by Pythagoras (Fīthāghūrath) and was played on his nuptial night. It has nine holes. One hundred players.

PT. (*b*) قوال.

Meninski. "*Qawāl*, *qawwāl* = fistula."

RY. "It is a flute of wood, very primitive, giving faulty notes. The number of holes differ. Some have six finger holes and one thumb hole, whilst others have seven finger holes. The peasants and shepherds of Asia Minor use it whilst their flocks are grazing."

There is a specimen at Paris (No. 899).

The *nai* نى or *nāy* ناى [generic name for a flute]. The patron of flute players is Moses (Mūsā). The legists say that the *nāy* is not forbidden because it was played by the

great Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [1207–1273]. There are various kinds, viz. the *baṭṭāl*, the *dū ahank*, the *nāy*, the *girift*, the *manṣūr*, the *shāh*, the *būl ahank*, the *baṭṭāl dāwudī*, the *sarhank*, and the *sūpurga*. Thirteen makers with four shops.

VH., *PT.*, and *MS.* have a different classification to the above, and *PT.* has دو اهنك instead of بول اهنك.

Meninski. "*Nai*, *nāy* = arundo, calamus, fistula."

RY. "On the *nāy* in general see Lavignac (3018). From the largest to the smallest the various types of the *nāy* are to-day named the *būl ahank*, the *dāwud*, the *shāh*, the *manṣūr*, the *qīz*, the *mustaḥsin*, and the *sūpurga*. The *baṭṭāl* is no longer in use. It was a very large flute, hence its name. The *dū ahank* was, perhaps, a double flute, but is no longer used. I have not heard of the *sarhank*, but the name سرهنك سهرياری was given to the musical director of the sulṭān in days of old. As for the *girift*, this was not one type or size of flute, but the generic name for a family of small flutes of several sizes. They have seven finger holes and one thumb hole, but they are fingered differently from the *nāy*."

Seventeenth century examples of the *nāy* may be seen in Rycaut, op. cit., p. 137. He says that the best kinds came from Iconium and cost twenty-five dollars apiece. Another example is shown in the catalogue of Maggs Bros. (No. 404) already mentioned, pl. cii. Actual specimens of the modern *nāy* abound in our museums. There is a *nāy shāh* 82·5 cm. long at Brussels (No. 135), whilst there is a *girift* at Paris (No. 900). See also Toderini, i, 237, and Villoteau, i, 954, and pl. cc, 18, 20. The *nai* is praised by Fighānī (d. 1526–7), Fuzūlī (d. *ca.* 1562–3), and Bāqī (d. 1600). See Gibb, *op. cit.*, iii, 36, 92, 157.

According to the Turkish writer on music, Aḥmad Ughlu Shukrallāh (fifteenth century), the *nāy* was called the *pīsha*. See Lavignac, 3013. This work, however, would appear to be merely a resumé of a Persian treatise on music

entitled the *Kanz al-tuḥaf*. We also have reference, with precise details, to the *nāy* in an Arabic work on music written for the sultān Murād II (1421–1451), a treatise which I have called elsewhere the *Muhammad ibn Murād Treatise*. Here the flute is called the *nāy abyaḍ* (white *nāy*), in contra-distinction from the *nāy aswad* (black *nāy*), which was a reed-pipe.

Recorders and Flageolets

The *qabā dūduk* قبا دودك (large recorder or flageolet). Invented by Ja'far Shāh at Mosul. Made of boxwood. Eighty players.

VH., *PT.*, *MS.* have دودك ـ ددوك and دودوك.

Meninski. "*Dūduk* = fistula, tibia.'

RY. "As it is not in use nowadays I do not know either its form or compass."

It is the Turkomanian *tütik* and the Persian *ṭūṭak*. Several modern specimens are to be found at New York (Nos. 447, 449, 450, 1487). A larger instrument, 43·5 cm. long, is at South Kensington Museum (No. 1013–'69).

The *'Arabī dūduk* عربى دودك (Arabian recorder). Invented at Nablus and played by the monks of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Fifty-five players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

Probably identical with the Arabian *ṣaffāra*. See Villoteau, i. 951, and pl. cc, 16. Actual examples of the latter are to be seen at Paris (Nos. 874, 875).

The *majar dūdukī* مجار دودكى [Hungarian recorder or flageolet] Invented by a monk in Transylvania. There are fine wire cords on it. Fifteen players.

VH. "Ten players."

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

The Дудук of the Southern Slavs is a flageolet whilst the Дудучица of the Bulgarians is a flute.

The *mihtar düdukï* مهتر دودكى [court recorder or flageolet]. Invented by Naṣīr [al-Dīn] Ṭūsī [1210–1273]. Used for the musical exercise of the Imperial household. Thirty-five players.

VH. نصير طوسى. *PT.* and *MS.* ناصر طوسى.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "Unknown to me, but it may refer to a recorder used by an Armenian brotherhood, known as the Mihtarists, in their religious ceremonies."

The *chāghirtma düduk* چاغرته دودك [. . . ? recorder or flageolet]. Invented at Uskub. It is made of the bone of a kind of crane. Sixty-five players.

VH. "the crying flute"—چاغرته. *PT.* (*a*) چغيرته (*b*) چاغرته. *MS.* چاغرته.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "It is a small flute [? recorder, flageolet] of about 20 cm."

Bone flutes and recorders are quite common in the East. There is a Turkish double recorder of bone at New York (No. 1486).

The *dānakyū düdukï* دانكيو دودكى [. . . . ? recorder]. Invented by the *lāzlar* of Trebizond. It is a reed with nine holes.

VH. (*a*) دانكيود (*b*) دانكيو. *PT.* (*a*) دانكيا (*b*) دانكيو.
MS. (*a*) دانكيود (*b*) دانكيود.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

It may have been furnished with a vibrating grain (*dānak*) in the sound box as in our "penny whistle".

The *dillī düduk* دللى دودك [double reed-pipe ?]. Invented by the shepherds of Rumelia (Rūm). It is a double pipe of reed. Sixty-two players.

VH. دللى. *PT* يللى. *MS.* ديللى.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. " دیلّی signifies 'with a reed'. دیل 'the tongue'."

The word *dillī* leads one to suppose an instrument played with a reed and, being a double pipe, it possibly equates with the Arabian *zammāra*, for a design of which see *JRAS*., 1929, pl. viii, No. 129. If this conjecture is right the instrument ought to be grouped under Reed Blown Instruments.

Panpipes

The *mizmār dūdukī* مزمار دودکی [panpipes ?].

It is composed of a bundle of reeds. Sixty-five players.

VH. (*a*) مزمار (*b*) مزمز. *PT*. (*a*) مزمار (*b*) مزمز.

MS. (*a*) مزمار (*b*) مزمز.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. " It was a species of panpipes. The Turks no longer use the instrument although it is to be found among the Roumanians."

The *mūsīqāl* موسیقال or *mithqāl* مثقال [panpipes]. The first player was Pythagoras, and then Moses, hence the surname of the latter Mūsā Mūsiqārī. There are various sizes named the *baṭṭāl* (large) and *girift* (small). Fifteen makers with six shops. Fifty-one players.

VH. موسقار: number of players omitted. *PT*. موسیقار.

MS. موسقار, مسقال.

Meninski. "*Mithqāl* = Organum orale seu aliquot fistulae simul junctae, quae flatu oris inflantur."

RY. "See *mizmār dūdukī*."

The term *mūsīqār* stood for "musician" among early Arabic writers. See *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 236, and Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (Bombay ed.), i, 87. Meninski says *mūsīqār* = "musicus", but gives *mūsiqāl* another meaning, leaving *mūsīja* and *mūsīcha* to stand for "fistula inaequalibus calamis compacta". This would appear to be a *lapsus*

calami, as there is sufficient evidence to show that *mūsiqāl* or *mūsiqāl* stood for the panpipes whilst *mūsīja* or *mūsīgha* stood for a kind of bird.

Whistles

The *ṣafīr* صفير [whistle]. Played by holding two pieces of bone in the mouth. Three hundred and ninety players.

PT. Omitted.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. No remarks.

The *ṣafīr bulbul* صفير بلبل [nightingale whistle]. Invented by Abū 'Alī [ibn] Sīnā [d. 1037]. An instrument for imitating the song of the nightingale. Three hundred players.

VH. ابو سینا.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to-day."

This probably resembled the Persian *sūtak*, a brass bowl with a whistle attached. When the bowl was filled with water and the whistle was blown, notes resembling those of birds resulted. There is a Persian specimen at New York (No. 2455), whilst a design is given by Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans* (1885). According to Ibn Sīda (d. 1065) the Arabic word was *ṣaffāra*. He describes it as "a hollow thing in which a boy whistles to pigeons". Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414) says that was made of copper.

Oboes, Reed-pipes, Clarionets, etc.

The *zūrnā* زورنا [generic name for the oboe]. Invented by Jamshīd who is buried at Ephesus (Ayāṣūlūq). He used to make music at daybreak. It is the principal instrument of the Turkish military band. [There are several kinds.] Forty makers with seven shops.

VH. (*a*) سورنا; (*b*) زرنا. *PT*. زورنا. *MS*. (*a*) زورنا ,ظورنا and سورنا; (*b*) ظورنا.

Meninski. "*Surnā*, vulg. *zurnā* = monaulus, lituus, scalmellum."

RY. "A species of oboe. The tube is not of reed or cane like the *nāy* (flute) but is of wood. The gipsies of Turkey play it in a manner really wonderful."

The *sūrnā* or *zūrnā* was not a *lituus* or trumpet (*vide* Meninski), although native Turkish and Persian lexicographers contain this additional definition. The mistake is probably due to the confusion of the first letter of صرنا, سرنا or زرنا with کرنا. Strange to say, Niebuhr, i, 145, calls the trumpet the *surme*. For the general shape of the *zūrnā* see *JRAS.*, 1929, pl. viii, 30.

It is depicted in a military band in a Turkish manuscript (*c.* 1538) reproduced in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, lv: Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pl. 96 (*c.* 1630). See also S. L. Poole, *Turkey*, 29, for another sixteenth-century *zūrnā*.

The *qabā zūrnā* قبا زورنا [large oboe]. One hundred players.

VH. (*b*) "the pipe" [= زرنا] instead of "the large pipe" قبا زرنا. "Two hundred players."

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "This was a *zūrnā* with a very long tube, but it is not used nowadays."

The *qabā zūrnā* mentioned here would probably correspond in dimensions to the *qabā zūrnā* or *zamr al-kabīr* of the Egyptians as described and delineated by Villoteau, i, 934. The Egyptian instrument was 58·3 cm. long. It is mentioned by Toderini, i, 238, as the baritone oboe of the Turkish military band. A modern specimen, 61 cm. long, with seven finger holes and one thumb hole, as well as three vent holes, is at New York (No. 377).

The *jūrā zūrnā* جورى زورنا [small oboe]. Invented by Jamshīd. Played with a drum (*tabl*). Three hundred players.

VH. (*b*) Entirely omitted. *PT.* (*a*) جوره ; (*b*) جورا number of players omitted. *MS.* (*a*) جوره ; (*b*) جورا.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "A *zūrnā* of small dimensions greatly favoured by the Kurds of Erzerum and Van."

It corresponds perhaps to the *jūrā zūrnā* or *zamr al-ṣughayyir* of Egypt. See Villoteau, i, 937, who says it was 31·2 cm. long. See also Toderini, i, 238. There are several modern specimens at New York (Nos. 344, 1375, 1530).

The *aṣafī zūrnā* اصفی زورنا [vizier's oboe ?]. Invented by Ṭayyār Muḥammad Pāshā, a governor of Baṣra. Eighty players.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "We no longer know an instrument by this name but as *aṣaf* means 'vizier' it probably refers to a 'vizier's oboe'. Formerly, each vizier had his band (*miḥtar-khāna*) and perhaps the *aṣafī zūrnā* was an oboe *de luxe* used particularly by these bands."

Aṣaf also referred to Asaph the son of Berachiah (1 *Chron.*, vi, 39) who is claimed in Muslim tradition to have been Solomon's vizier. In this case the name would be purely honorific, just as in the case of the names Sulaimānī and Dāwudī given to flutes, in honour of Solomon and David. We know, however, that the oboe in the vizier's military band was sometimes called the *wazīrlī zūrnā*, and there is a specimen at South Kensington Museum (No. 1014–'69) which is 37 cm. long.

The *shihābī zūrnā* شهابی زورنا [Shihāb's oboe or reed-pipe]. Invented in the Maghrib by the shaikh Shihāb. It is commonly used at Fez. Forty players.

VH. (*a*) "The town pipe", presumably شهری زورنا (*b*) One hundred players. Shaikh Shihābī. *PT.* (*a*) شهری (*b*) شهابی. *MS.* (*a*) سهری ; (*b*) سهابی.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

There does not appear to be any appreciable difference between the Moroccan and the Turkish oboe. The Moroccan instrument is generally called *ghaiṭa* or *ghā'iṭa*. There is also a cylindrical reed-pipe played with a single reed which

carries the same name. Perhaps it was the latter instrument that was the *shihābī zūrnā*. For a design of the Moroccan *ghaita* see Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (1787), Tab. xxxi, 4, and an example of the Egyptian *ghaita* may be seen at New York (No. 2824).

The *'Arabī zūrnā* عربی زورنا [Arabian oboe]. Invented in Syria by 'Alī Nād. Used in Syria and Egypt. Fifty-five players.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "It was probably the oboe used in Egypt."

The *'Ajamī zūrnā* عجمی زورنا [Persian oboe]. Similar to the Ottoman oboe commonly called the *qabā zūrnā*, but its neck [? tube] and sound are coarser. Ninety players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

The *balābān* بلابان [Turkoman reed-pipe]. Invented at Shīrāz. It has no "bell" (*qulāq*) like the *zūrnā*. Much used by the Turks. One hundred players.

VH. (*a*) بلبان; (*b*) بلابان. *PT.* (*a*) بلبان; (*b*) Omitted.

MS (*a*) بلبان; (*b*) بلابان.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "The celebrated Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) speaks of a *nāy bālābān*. It was a sort of flute."

Ibn Ghaibī actually writes نای بلبان (not بالابان) and he tells us that its compass was like that of the *surnā* (*zūrnā*). The instrument was not a flute but a reed-pipe, i.e. an instrument with a cylindrical tube played with a single vibrating reed. The instrument is still a favourite with the Turkomans. See Belaiev, *Muzīkalnïe Instrumenti Uzbekistana* (Moscow, 1933), 40–1.

The *qurnāta* قرناطه [clarionet ?]. Invented in England. Made of horn. Played by the monks at the Holy Sepulchre.

VH فرندا. *PT.* قرناطه. *MS.* قراندا.

Meninski. Not given. Cf. *qurāntā* in Vahid Bey's *English-Turkish Dictionary*.

RY. "There cannot be any doubt that this is the clarionet."

The above is Ra'ūf Yektā's response to my query whether this was the clarionet, an opinion which I had already expressed elsewhere. See *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iii, 540. In Syria the term *qurnaiṭa* is given to all instruments of the reed-pipe family. See *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* (*Univ. S. Joseph*), Beyrouth, vi, 29. Denner is said to have invented the clarionet about 1690, but in the above we appear to have an earlier mention of the instrument in which England is given the credit of the invention.

The *qāmis͟h mizmār* قامش مزمار [Chinese *chĕng* ?]. Invented by the S͟haik͟h S͟hus͟htarī for the Chinese shadow play (*k͟hayāl ẓill*). It is made of reeds. One hundred players.

VH. (*a*) Omitted; (*b*) "the reed psalter" [= قامش مزمار].

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "Perhaps the panpipes."

As the panpipes are already represented by the *mūsīqāl* and *mizmār dūdukī*, it is not unlikely that the *qāmis͟h mizmār* was the Chinese *chĕng*. The Chinese shadow play is said to have been introduced into Turkey by the s͟haik͟h Muḥammad S͟hus͟htarī (or Tustarī or Kus͟htarī) in the fourteenth century. See Ritter, *Karagos*, i, 5. The s͟haik͟h seems to have borrowed it from China, and it is not unlikely that the Chinese *chĕng* was at first used with the plays. In the European Punch and Judy show, itself possibly derived from the Orient, the panpipes are generally used. The *chĕng* was known to both the Arabs and Persians as the *mus͟htaq ṣīnī* and *mus͟hta ṣīnī* respectively, as I have shown elsewhere. See *JRAS.* (1934), pp. 333–4. Ibn G͟haibī mentions it under its Chinese name (*ch'ao-chĕng*) as the *c͟hubc͟hīq*. This makes it all the more likely that the Turks of Ewliyā C͟helebī's day also knew of the instrument.

The *ṭulūm dūdukī* طلوم دودكی [bagpipe]. Invented in Russia and played by their shepherds. Five players.

Meninski. "*tulūm* = uter: *ṭūlūm* = uter, utriculus, tibia utricularis: *tulūm* = tibia utricularis."

RY. "A species of bagpipe composed of a skin (*ṭūlūm*) and a pipe (*dūduk*). When Bulgaria was under Turkish domination their shepherds, coming to Constantinople, used to promenade the streets playing this instrument."

There is a modern specimen at South Kensington Museum (No. 1028–'69) and there are others at New York (Nos. 362, 1335).

The *urghanūn* ارغنون [organ]. An old invention. It is said that formerly David (Dāwud) accompanied his psalms with it. It is generally found in European countries. There you will find at every convent and church a large organ with three hundred pipes and two pairs of bellows, each moved by ten monks. . . . They are in the habit of castrating young boys in order to preserve the purity of their voices. These boys are made to stand upon the upper part of the bellows with which they rise and descend, singing the verses of the psalter to a mournful melody (*maqām*) called *rahāwī*. . . . This melody is so called from the town of al-Ruhā (Edessa), where David invented this instrument, which absolutely must be heard to have an adequate idea of it. . . ."

Meninski. "*Urghanūn* = organum." *RY.* No comment.

Ewliyā Chelebi does not say, in the above, that the organ was used at Constantinople. Yet he mentions the organ several times elsewhere when describing the mock battles, on procession days at Constantinople, between Muslims and Christian, when organs are placed in the hands of the latter. It is also described by Tāshkupri Zāda (d. 1560) and Ḥājji Khalīfa (d. 1658). See Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*, 77.

Trumpets and Horns

The *darwīsh būrūsī* درویش بوروسی [dervish horn]. Invented by Manūchihr (the Persian king) for his hunting parties. It is of horn. Five hundred players.

Meninski. " *Būrī* = tuba. *Būrū* = tuba, buccina."

RY. " Unknown to me."

Niebuhr (i, 146) speaks of dervishes of the *qalandar* order blowing a horn. See also Rycaut, op. cit., 145. A Persian instrument of this type, but called a *nafīr*, may be seen at New York (No. 2454). its length being 37 cm. See also Advielle, op. cit., 14 and pl.

The *Ayyūb būrūsī* ايوب بوروسى [Job's cornet]. Invented by Sinān Shāh. It is made of reed. Thirty-five players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* " Unknown to me."

VH. " Sinān Pāshā." *PT.* and *MS.* Sinān Shāh.

There were three pashas who bore this name, but it must refer to someone who lived earlier than these. I have called it a " cornet " because it may have resembled the Mediaeval cornet, but made of reed. Bonanni, op. cit. (1722), pp. 56–7, pl. xiii–xiv, gives a *corno* [? *cornetto*] *delli Turchi*, with six finger holes and the thumb hole. See also La Borde, op. cit., i, 256. The *ayyūb būrūsī* may have been the *nāy chādūr* mentioned by Ibn Ghaibī as being favoured by the Turks.

The *Afrāsiyāb būrūsī* افراسياب بوروسى [Afrāsiyāb's trumpet]. Invented by the Persian king Afrāsiyāb. It was used at the court of the khāns of the Crimea. One hundred players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* " Unknown to me."

Elsewhere Ewliyā says that it was called the *'Ajamī būrū* or Persian trumpet.

The *pirinj būrū* پرنج بورو [brass trumpet]. Invented by the Saljuqid Arslān Shāh at Konia. It is used also by the Ottoman Turks. Forty players and one maker, an obstinate Greek who dwells at the Flour Hall.

VH. پرنج بوروسى (*sic*). Elsewhere (i/ii, 194) he terms it the " brass flute ".

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* " The brass trumpet."

Two kind of metal trumpets are shown in a Turkish MS. (*c.* 1538) reproduced in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lv. One has

a straight tube (possibly the *nafir*) and the other a folded tube (possibly the *pirin;* *bûrû*). The *bûrû* of Marsigli, pl. xvii, is a small folded trumpet.

The *shîsha bûrûsi* شیشه بوروسی [bottle-shaped trumpet]. Invented at Venice. It has the form of a crooked bottle. Forty players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. " Unknown to me."

See the Persian *shâkh nafir*, a crooked trumpet, described and delineated by Kaempfer, 744, fig. 15, which might be likened to a crooked oriental bottle.

The *nafir* نفیر [straight trumpet]. Invented by Khudâdâd at Isfahân. Ten players.

VH and *PT*. نفیر *MS* (*a*) نفیر (*b*) نفیر

Meninski. " *Nafir* certum instrumentum musicum militare, tuba aenae."

RY " Nowadays this name is given to a cow's horn which is played by the dervishes of the *baktâshi* sect."

In Ewliyâ Chelebi's day the *nafir* was doubtless a straight metal trumpet. Ibn Ghaibi (d. 1435) says that it was 168 cm long. That it was distinct from the *bûrû* in the seventeenth century we know from Hajji Khalifa, i, 400). See *Ars Asiatica* viii, pl. lv, for an example of the straight trumpet. As there were only ten players it would seem that the *nafir* was being superseded by the European instrument.

The *türumpata bûrûsi* تورمپته بوروسی [European trumpet]. Invented at Prague. Seventy seven players.

VH, (*a*) تورمپته (*b*) تورمپته بوروسی *PT* (*a*) تورپیته
(*b*) Omitted *MS* (*a*) تورمپته بوروسی (*b*) تورمپته

Meninski. Not given. *RY* " The European trumpet."

For the European instrument of the sixteenth seventeenth centuries see Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (1511), Luscinius, *Musurgia, seu Praxis Musicae* (1536), and Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (1648). The Turkish word is derived from the Italian *trombetta*, the diminutive of *tromba*. About

the same time we find the European trumpet being adopted as the *tarunbata* in Morocco. See *Tadhkirat al-nisyān*, 117. It was probably the ordinary folded trumpet still used by European armies. See two seventeenth-century examples in Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, opp. 204.

For the Turkish instrument (c. 1630) see Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pl. 96, and for the Egyptian (= Turkish ?) see Niebuhr, i, 145, and Tav. xxvi.

The *Inkilīz būrūsī* انكليز بوروى [English (slide ?) trumpet]. It is a crooked trumpet of brass. Forty players.

PT. انكليز. *MS.* انكليس.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

Von Hammer says further that it had "thin threads of wire within". The sentence does not occur in the *PT.* so that its precise meaning cannot be probed, but it may mean that there were *inner metal tubes* such as in the English "flat trumpet" or slide trumpet. The latter instrument was used in England about this time as we know from the music which Purcell wrote for the funeral of Queen Mary (1694–5).

The *lūṭūriyā* لوطوريا or *lūṭūriyān būrūsī* لوطوريان بوروى [Ship's trumpet]. Dutch. Made of brass and played by Christian sailors. Ten players.

VH. (*a*) لوطورنان ; (*b*) لوطوريا. *PT.* (*a*) لوطوريان (*b*) لوطوريا. *MS.* (*a*) لوطوريان ; (*b*) لوطوريا.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

Von Hammer surmised that it was the speaking trumpet, but the text كيلرده نصارا جالارلر scarcely admits this. It is more likely to have been the very short trumpet used on ships to convey commands.

The *urghanūn būrūsī* ارغنون بوروى [organ trumpet]. Made of German buffalo horns. . . . Fifteen players.

VH. says that "they put thin thread into them". Number of players omitted.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to me."

I cannot imagine what type of instrument this was, unless it refers to the *urghīn al-būqī* or *urghanun al-būqī* which I have described in my *Organ of the Ancients from Eastern Sources*, 60, 127 et seq., and *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 27–30.

The *karranāy* كرّه ني [long bent trumpet]. It has silver tubes and has the sound of an ass's bray. Introduced by Murād IV [1623–1640] from Erivan when he returned to Constantinople with its khān [1635].

Meninski. "*Karnā*, *karnāy* ... tuba."

RY. "The *karnā*."

From Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) we know that the *karranāy* was a trumpet with its tube bent back, and the Turkish instrument of this type may be seen in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lv. The Persian instrument of the seventeenth century is shown and described by Kaempfer, 743, fig. 13, who writes the word كرنا. Here it is a straight instrument as it is of modern times. See Advielle, op. cit., 15 and pl., where the term *karnai* is used.

§ 5

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

Harps, Psalteries, and Dulcimers

The *chang* چنك [harp]. Invented by Pythagoras to solace Solomon. It is a great instrument in the form of an elephant's trunk. It has forty strings and its sound is astonishing. There are but few who play it because it is a difficult instrument. Ten makers with two shops and ten players.

Meninski. "*Chang* ... trigonum nablium, cithara, sambuca, psalterium."

RY. "According to the Turkish writer Ahmad Ughlū Shukrallāh (fifteenth century) the Turkish *chang* had twenty-four strings. See Lavignac, 3013."

It is often quoted by the Turkish poets and Nizāmī of Konia (fifteenth century) says: "Let us make his face a *daf* (tambourine) and his form a *chang* (harp)," meaning a flat face and a humped back, the latter agreeing with Ewliyā description. A large Turkish *chang* of the sixteenth century (not seventeenth) is delineated by Engel (p. 59), and it would seem that the instrument had become greater in both size and compass since the fifteenth century. A smaller instrument is shown, a Turkish version of the *Kitāb al-adwār* (sixteenth–seventeenth century) of Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) at Leyden University (Or. 1175), and it has seventeen strings. The *chang* must have fallen into desuetude shortly after Ewliyā Chelebī's day, as it is not mentioned by Toderini or Niebuhr. Ḥājjī Khalīfa includes it among his instruments, i, 400.

The *qānūn* قانون [psaltery]. Invented by the famous psaltrist 'Alī Shāh.

Meninski. "*Qānūn* = psalterium, sambuca, decachordum, instrumentum musicum fidibus jacentibus instructum triquetra forma; quae genibus pone incumbit, ad minimum novem. etiam 50 aut 60 aenis chordis, quae digitis utriusq; manus testudinis more pulsantur: aut chordae, quae duobus ponticulis incumbunt, et foramen, quod ultra utrumque situm est, in cavum ventrem reflexae deligantur."

RY. "It was used by the Turks as early as the fifteenth century, but in the eighteenth century it fell into neglect. In the early nineteenth century, however, it was reintroduced by an Arab of Damascus. See Lavignac, 3020."

It is another of the instruments praised by the Turkish poets Aḥmad Pāshā and Nizāmī (fifteenth century) as well as Rawānī (sixteenth century). Whether it fell into neglect in the eighteenth century is a debatable point. Toderini, who was in Turkey in 1781–6, mentions it. A design of the Turkish *qānūn* may be seen in an engraving *c.* 1700 by G. Scotin entitled *Fille Turque Jouant du Canon*, which has been copied by Bonanni, *Gabinetto Armonico* (1722).

Modern Turkish specimens may be seen at South Kensington Museum (No. 1032–'69) and New York (Nos. 330, 342, 1248), the first mentioned being the largest (96 cm. long), having seventy-two strings which are mounted tricordally.

The *santūr* سنتور [dulcimer]. [Mentioned but not described.]

VH. Omitted. *PT*. صانطور.

Meninski. "*santūr* = cymbalum."

RY. "It is of Jewish origin and is still played by the Jews in the Orient. Modern Turkey has two types, the Turkish and the European. See Lavignac, 3021."

It is not given by Ḥājjī Khalīfa, i, 400, but it was popular in Toderini's day, i, 238. A modern specimen may be seen at New York (No. 370). It has seventy-two wire strings arranged tricordally.

Lutes and Pandores

The *shashkhāna* ششخانه [Tartar one-stringed ? pandore]. Invented by Riḍā al-Dīn of Shirwān. It has an angular neck like the *'ud*, but the neck is longer. It is difficult to play.

VH. Cf. *shashtā*. *MS*. (a) سسحانه ; (b) ششحانه.

Meninski. Not given as an instrument of music.

RY. "Unknown to me."

Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) describes a six-sided instrument which he calls the *tarantār* ترنتار (the desert *tār*). It had one string of silk. The neck was about 54 cm. long, and the sound-chest was hexagonal. I have seen a six-sided instrument in Persian art but cannot locate the reference. A seven-sided instrument may be seen in a MS. of Muḥammad Aṣafī, *Dāstān-i jamāl wa jalāl* (dated 1502) in the University Library of Uppsala.

The ordinary one-stringed instrument described by Ibn Ghaibī is called the *yaktār* يكتار (یك = "one" + تار = "string"). The poet Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1389) speaks of the *dūtār* or *dūtā*, a two-stringed instrument, and the *sihtār*

or *sihtā* (vulg. *sitār*), a three-stringed instrument. Both of these instruments have remained favourites in Persia and Turkestān. See Advielle, 13 and pl., Lavignac, 3074, and Belaiev, 88.

The [*turkī*] *ṭanbūr* طنبور [ترکی] [(Turkish) two-stringed pandore]. Invented at Mar'ash by the pandorist Muzawwir Aḥmad. An excellent instrument on which I play myself. Five hundred players.

PT. مزوور (مزور ?). Number of players omitted.

MS. موزور.

RY. "It is the favourite instrument of the Turks. See Lavignac, op. cit., 3015."

Meninski. "*ṭunbūr* = cithara turcica, longo collo, et rotundo ventre, sex fidium aenearum."

Ewliyā refers to the *ṭanbūr* under two separate headings, but does not distinguish between them by name. Following Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), I have adopted the names of the two pandores mentioned by him, viz. the *ṭanbūr turkī* and the *ṭanbūr shirwīnān*. According to the latter, the *ṭanbūra turkī* had a smaller sound-chest than the *ṭanbūr shirwīnān*, but had a longer neck. It was strung with both two and three strings. The two-stringed form remained popular until the mid-eighteenth century, as we know from Niebuhr (i, 143, Tab. xxvi, A) in an instrument which the Greeks called *içitali* (Turk. ایکی + Greek τέλι). Toderini (i, 237, Tav. 1) and Villoteau (i, 861, Pl. AA), however, delineate and describe an eight-stringed instrument strung bicordally. Its sound-chest was hemispherical.

The poet Rawānī (d. 1523–4) refers to the *ṭanbūr* in his *'Ishrat nāma*, and a three-stringed instrument of the same period may be seen in a Turkish MS. that was exhibited at the Exhibition of Persian Art (London, 1931), lent by Mrs. Macey, but not catalogued. Modern specimens of the instrument may be seen at South Kensington (No. 576–'72), New York (No. 338), Brussels (No. 163).

In view of the reputed origin of the *ṭanbūr* amongst the people of Sodom and Gomorrah (Al-Mas'ūdī, ***Prairies d'or***, viii, 89), the name of the so-called " inventor " has interest, since *muzawwir* means " a rogue, cheat ", and *mawzūr* means " a criminal ".

The [*shirwīnān*] *ṭanbūr* طنبور [شروینان] [(Shirwinian) two-stringed pandore]. One hundred players. •

VH. 100 players. *PT*. 300 players. *MS*. 200 players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. No comment.

According to Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), the *ṭanbūr shirwīnān* had a pear-shaped sound-chest and two strings. Turkish and Persian art have many representations of instruments of this shape. For modern times see Niebuhr, Tav. xxvi, and Villoteau Pl. AA. Specimens abound in our museums.

The *tal tanbūr* تل طنبور [wire-strung pandore]. Invented at Kutaiah by Mandi Ughlū. It has three wire strings and frets, and resembles the other *tanbur* but is smaller. It is an inflaming instrument.

PT. Number of players omitted.

Meninski. *Tal tanbūrasi*. " cithara fere nostrae similis, sed plerumque trium filum aenearum."

RY. Unknown to me.

The other pandores seem to have had gut or silk strings and were played with the fingers and thumb. The *tal tanbur*, having wire strings, was probably played with a plectrum. Meninski says that the *tal tanbūr* of the Turks was similar to our instrument. See the seventeenth century *turki tanbur* in Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (1636), ii, 99, 228; *Harmonicorum* (1636), ii, 35, 111; Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* (1650), i, 477; *Phonurgia nova* (1673), 157. For an eighteenth-century instrument see Bonanni, op. cit., 100, pl. lx.

The *qūpūz* قوپوز or *qūpūz* قوپوز [Turkish lute]. Invented by Harsak Zāda Ahmad Pāshā, one of the viziers of Sulṭān Muhammad II (1451–1481). It may be considered as a ***shashtār*** on a diminutive scale, but with only three strings. It is

much played on the frontiers of Bosnia, Buda, Temesvar, . . ., but I never saw it in Anatolia. Forty players.

VH., *PT.*, and *MS.* have قپوز. *PT.* alone gives the number of players. *MS.* and *PT.* have *shashkhāna* instead of *shashtār*.

Meninski says: "*qupūz* = instrumentum musicum: *qūpūz* = species citharae vilioris."

RY. says: "This is an instrument which the Turkish minstrels (*awzān*) played in olden days. Its form is not known, but I believe that it was little different from that of the *'ūd*."

The Turkish poet Rawānī (d. 1523–4) writes both *qupūz* and *qūpūz*. See Gibb, vi, 105, 107. Ewliyā's date must be wrong since the *qūpūz rūmī* (Turkish or Byzantine lute) is mentioned by Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), who says that it had a skin "belly" and five double strings. This author also mentions another Turkish instrument of the lute class called the *awzān*, and says that it was specially used to accompany Turkish tales in verse and prose (fol. 77). We also read of the *awzān* being used for Turkish songs with the Mamlūk sulṭāns of Egypt. (Al-Maqrīzī, i, i, 136. Quatremère wrongly calls it a "tambour".) From Ewliyā (see next instrument) we learn that the *qupūz* had its head bent. For this feature in the modern Meccan *qabūs*, the Ḥadramī *qanbūs*, and the Malay *gambus*, see the authorities quoted in my article "ŪD" in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iv, 986, and my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 72.

The *qaradūzan* قره دوزن [bottle-shaped lute]. Invented by Qūdūz Farhādī at Iṣfahān when he was with Prince Bāyazīd, the son of Sulṭān Sulaimān I [1520–1566]. It has frets and three strings, and is in the form of a bottle. It is favoured by shoemakers. Fifty players.

VH. (*a*) درغ ; (*b*) .قادوزن *PT.* (*a*) قاره زورنا (*b*) .قره دوزن *MS.* (*a*) دورن ; (*b*) .قره دوزن

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

An instrument called the *duzan* was used in Albania of modern times.

The *yūnqār* یونقار **[small Turkish three-stringed pandore]. Invented by Shamsī Chelebī, the son of Ḥamdī Chelebī [d. 1509], the author of *Yūsuf u Zulaikā*. It is played in the households of the pashas. Five hundred players.**

VH. Omits number of players. *PT.* (*a*) یونقار ; (*b*) یوقار.

Meninski. "*Yūnghār*, *yūnghar* = species citharae Turcicae parvae trium chordarum, et si major sit vocatur *chūkūr*."

RY. "Unknown to me."

Niebuhr, i. 145, Tav. xxvi, C, has shown a small pandore of three strings which he calls a *bag[h]lama*. Cf. the *ṭanbūr baghlama* of Villoteau, i, 880, pl. AA, 12. A modern Turkish pandore of this size may be seen at South Kensington Museum (No. 1011 '69). It has six strings which, if tuned bicordally, would approximate to the *yūnqār*. This particular instrument is called a *sāz*, and it is very popular with the minstrels known as the *sāz shā'irlarī*.

The *qiltama* قلتمه **(Turkish double-chested three-stringed pandore]. Invented by Shamsī Chelebī. It is similar to the *tanbur*, only shorter. It has a double sound-chest and three strings, the middle string being of metal.**

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

The double chested pandore, although no longer used in Turkey, is still favoured in Persia, Turkestān, and Caucasia. A Turkish specimen (model) with four strings may be seen at New York (No. 2482). For Persian designs see Lavignac, 3073 Advielle, op. cit., 12 and pl.: 'Alī Naqī Khān Waziri, *Ta'līmāt Mūsiqī*.

The *chārtār* چرتر **[Persian four-stringed lute or pandore]. Invented recently in Persia by the shaikh Ḥaidar Ṣafawī (d. 1488). Fifteen players.**

VH. چرتر. *PT.* (*a*) چارطاب ; (*b*) چارطا (چارتار).

MS (*a*) چارطاب ; (*b*) چارطا.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to me."

As we have seen (*vide shashkhāna*) there were the one-, two-, and three-stringed *tār*. The *chārtār* (short for *chahārtār*) had four strings. It is no longer favoured in either Persia or Turkey, but only by the Uzbegs of Turkestān, with whom, however, it has five strings. See Belaiev, op. cit., 89.

The sharqī شرقى [Turkī pandore]. It is like the *chārtār* and is played by the Turkomans. Two hundred players.

VH. (*a*) شرقى ; (*b*) شارق. *PT*. (*a*) شرقى ; (*b*) شارق. *MS*. (*a*) شرقى ; (*b*) سارق.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to me."

Being similar to the *chārtār*, as Ewliyā says, the *sharqī* was probably a four-stringed instrument. The modern *ṭanbūr sharqī* which Villoteau found in Egypt among its Turkish and other foreign residents was a four-stringed instrument (bicordal) according to the plate, but described as a five-stringed one (i, 869, pl. AA, 7).

The *chashda* چشده [five-stringed round-chested lute]. Invented by Binaklī Shāh of Salonica. Like the *chūkūr* it has five strings, but it has a small round sound-chest and a short neck with frets which are very close together. It is a noisy instrument played by the gipsies. Three hundred players.

MS. (*a*) جشده ; (*b*) چشده.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to me."

Round-chested lutes frequently occur in Persian and Mesopotamian art. Perhaps the *chahazda* چهزده given by Kaempfer, 744, fig. 17, is the Turkish *chashda*.

The *chūkūr* چوكور [Janissaries' five-stringed pandore]. Invented by Ya'qūb Kirmiyānī in Kutaiah. It has a wooden "belly", five strings, and twenty-six frets. Commonly used by the Janissaries. Three hundred players.

VH. چكور. *PT*. چوكور. *MS*. چوكور 3,000 players.

Meninski. "*Chukūr*, *chūkūr* = instrumentum musicum cithara crassus."

RY. "An instrument with a long neck and a pear-shaped sound-chest, used by the popular minstrels known as the *saz shâ'irlari*."

The modern Turkish *chûkûr* has six strings and frets. The modern Persian *chuqur* has a much shorter neck and a larger sound-chest. For a design of the latter see Advielle (14, pl.) and Lavignac (3074). Specimens may be seen at Paris (Nos. 1253, 1438).

The *sûndur* سوندر [Turki pandore with sympathetic strings]. Invented in Turkestan but I do not know by whom. It resembles the *chûkûr* but has ten metal sympathetic strings. Twelve players.

VH (a) سوندر, (b) سندر. *PT.* (a) صوندر; (b) سوندر. *MS* (a) سوندر, (b) سوندر.

Mensinski: Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

Ibn Ghaibi (d. 1435) mentions the use of sympathetic strings on several instruments.

The *ruda* روده [four- or five-stringed lute or pandore]. Invented recently by Shukrallâh Beg of Arabgir. Used in a similar manner to four- and five-stringed instruments.

VH (a) روضه, (b) رضه. *PT.* روده. *MS.* (a) روضه; (b) روده.

Mensinski: Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

rûd رود, *rûda* روده, and *rûdak* رودک (dim.) occur in Persian literature as the names of musical instruments. Ibn Ghaibi mentions a *rûd khâni* رود خانی (khân's lute) which was used by the people of Shirwân. Half of its belly was of skin. In Moorish Spain we read of a *rûta* روطه (Al-Maqqarî, *Analectes*, ii. 143-4) in the thirteenth century. A *shâhrûd* شاهرود is quoted in the *Mafâtîh al-'ulûm*, 237, and is described by Al-Fârâbî (Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 43), both in the tenth century. The last named was certainly different from Ewliyâ's instrument. Kiesewetter (91) says

that the *rūd* was a low pitched *kamānṯha*, and Advielle (14) likens it to a harp.

The *barbaṭ* بربط [Persian lute]. Invented at Muntashā, I do not know by whom. It resembles the *qupūz*, but with a straight neck. It has both metal and cord [or gut or silk] strings. Fifteen players.

VH. ربود. *PT.* بربط. *MS.* (*a*) باربود; (*b*) باربوط.

Meninski says: "*barbaṭ* = pandura."

RY. "The body of the instrument resembled the breast (*bar*) of a duck (*baṭ*), hence the name of the instrument."

For the history of the *barbaṭ*, see my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 92 et seq., and my article in the *Ency. of Islām*, iv, 985. It is highly probable that the *barbaṭ* and the *qupūz* were pear-shaped and had no separate neck, the entire instrument, from the "nut" downwards, being in one graduated piece, perhaps hollow throughout like the modern Arabian *qabūs*. Further, the "belly" in both instruments was of skin. They differed, however, as stated above, in the shape of the "scroll" or head, and in the strings.

An example of what I consider to be a *barbaṭ* is to be found in a fragment of a dish from Rhages (*c.* 1200) in the British Museum.

The *'ūd* عود [Arabian lute]. Eight players.

VH. Omits the number of players. *MS.* Six players.

PT. Eight players.

Meninski says: "*'ūd* = chelys, testudo."

RY. "A Turkish writer on music, Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrallāh (fifteenth century), describes a five-stringed *'ūd* of the Turks, giving a curious design of the instrument. See Lavignac, op. cit., 3012."

A rude design of a five-stringed lute is given in a sixteenth–seventeenth century Turkish MS. attributed to Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), at Leyden University (Or. 1175). The *'ūd* differed from the *barbaṭ* and *qupūz* in that it was made

entirely of wood (*'ūd*), the parallel neck being distinct from the body. The "scroll" or head was generally at right angles to the neck.

The small number of players mentioned by Ewliyā shows that the *'ūd* was declining in popularity, and by the time of Toderini's stay in Turkey (1781–6) it had quite disappeared (op. cit., i, 236–8), the *ṭanbūr* having completely ousted it from public favour. In the nineteenth century, probably through Italian influence, a small type of lute known as the *lauta*, was introduced. This, with the older type of *'ūd*, now forms an integral part of modern Turkish orchestral music.

Examples of the *'ūd* occur in Turkish art. See Blochet, *Les Enluminures des MSS. orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pl. xliv.

The *shashtā* ششتا or *shashtār* ششتار [six-stringed lute or pandore]. Invented by 'Alī Khān of Tabriz. It has frets like the *ghirtā* and six metal strings. Number of players unknown.

VII. Details omitted. What is given under *shashtā* concerns the *shashkhāna*. *MS.* (*a*) ششتار ; (*b*) ستار.

Meninski says: "*shashtā* = testudo magno ventre. Instrumentum musicum, sex fidium."

RF. "To-day only used in Persia, Azerbaijan, and Caucasia. The 'belly' is of skin."

Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) describes three kinds of *shashtār*. (1) A pear-shaped instrument, the body being half the size of that of the *'ūd*. (2) One similar to the preceding but with a longer neck. In both of these instruments it was sometimes the custom to make these six strings bicordal, i.e. two tuned to the one note. (3) Another, similar to the last mentioned but with thirty [sympathetic] additional strings which were made bicordal, giving two octaves. He says that the last instrument was popular in European Turkey (Rūm). The Turkish poet Aḥmad Pāshā (fifteenth century) sings in praise of the *shashtā*. See Gibb, No. 77. A Turkish

manuscript at Berlin (dated 1538) entitled *Kitāb al-maṭla' fī'l-adwār wa'l-maqāmāt* describes the *ghashtā*, *'ūd*, *ghang*, and *nāy*.

The *mughnī* مغنى [lute-psaltery]. Invented at Magnesia. It is made in the form of a *qānūn* (psaltery) with twenty-four strings, but it is not described by Nihānī Chelebī in his *Sāz nāma*. The irregulars (لوند) of Magnesia, Tireh, Aidin, Sarukhan, . . . play this instrument. Forty players.

VH. (*a*) مغناج ; (*b*) مغنى. *PT.* (*a*) موغى ; (*b*) موغنى.

MS. (*a*) موعن ; (*b*) موغن.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "It is described by the above-mentioned Aḥmad Ughlu Shukrallāh who says that it was invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294) in Persia. It was a combination of the principles of the *rubāb* (another type of lute), the *qānūn* (psaltery), and *nuzha* (another type of psaltery), and possessed thirty-nine strings, according to this author, but as he does not give a design of the instrument I cannot say how these were arranged."

An identical account of this instrument is to be found in the Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (fourteenth century), where the instrument is delineated. For a reproduction of the latter see my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, frontispiece.

Viols

The *rabāb* رَباب [rebec or lyra]. It was played by Solomon (Sulaimān) and was perfected by 'Abdallāh Fāryābī. It has three strings. Before the time of the Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632) it was considered a lawful instrument. Nine makers with three shops.

Meninski. Not described. The *rabāb* mentioned by him is actually the *rubāb*, a species of lute. See ante.

RY. "The modern instrument [of the rebec or lyra type] is called the *kamāngha*."

The pear-shaped rebec or lyra is now known in Turkey as the *kamāncha*, whereas the instrument with a hemispherical sound-chest was then known by this name. See *infra*. It had been known to the Byzantines since the tenth century as the *lyra* and Al-Mas'ūdī (d. *c.* 957), the Arabic historian, says that the Byzantine λύρα is the Arabian *rabāb* (*Prairies d'or*, viii, 91). *Rabāb = lyra dicta* in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (eleventh century). See also Gerbert, *De Cantu*, fig. 18, and for the eighteenth-century instrument, Niebuhr, i, Tab. xxvi, D. Modern specimens may be seen at Paris (No. 1233), New York (No. 416, 418), South Kensington (1009 '69).

The *kamāncha* كمچه [viol with hemispherical sound-chest]. Invented by Fārvābī, who is buried at Nakhichevan. Eighty players.

Meninski: "*Kamāncha*, *kamāna* pandura, lyra, tetrachordum fides, chelys."

RY: "The modern instrument is called the *rabāb* and it resembles the *iqliq* but has two instead of three strings. It has fallen into desuetude although it may be found among the *mawlawiyya* dervishes."

A contemporary Turkish *kamāncha* of this type may be seen in the English MS of Dr Edward Browne in the British Museum (Add. 5234). He says that it was called the *kimcheh* or *kimche* (= *kamāncha*). "It has three strings," he says, "the body is of a gourde with a hole behind it and the belly is of brasse." It was played "with a bowe like that of a violin." The Turkish poet Rawānī (d. 1523–4) speaks of the *kamāncha* with its iron foot (Gibb, *Ott. Poet.*, No. 147). Actual specimens may be seen at New York (No. 337).

The *iqliq* قلق [viol with hemispherical sound-chest]. Invented in Egypt by Manṣūr Rashīdī. Although popular in Turkestan and Arabia it is not common in Rumelia. It is a small viol and has three strings. It was introduced at the time of Murād IV (1611–1640). One hundred players.

VH. (*a*) ? افلج ; (*b*) اقلق. *PT.* افلق. *MS.* (*a*) افلف ; (*b*) اقلق، افلق.

Meninski. "*Iqligh* اقلغ = lyra, fides."

RY. "The *Iqlīghī* is mentioned and delineated by the Turkish writer Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrallāh (fifteenth century). It had two strings. See Lavignac, 3012."

If we can accept the authority of Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrallāh, the Turks must have known of the *iqliq*, *iqligh*, or *iqlīghī* two centuries before Ewliyā Chelebi's date. As the latter says that it was a small instrument, it is possible that it was merely a small *kamāncha* and that the *kamāncha* and *iqliq* correspond to the Egyptian *kamānja 'ajūz* and *kamānja farkh* respectively, as described and delineated by Villoteau, i, 900, 909 : Pl. BB. 5–10. Meninski equates the *chaghana* or *chaghāna* with the *iqligh*, hence, perhaps, the reason why Raverty (*Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, i, 354, 356) likens the *chaghāna* to a violin. This is another example of an erroneous definition having crept into Oriental lexicons owing to the carelessness of copyists. In this case the similarity of چغانه to كانه (another form of كاكچه) has been the cause, and as the كانه was a species of اقلغ therefore *iqligh* was equated with *chaghāna*.

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The Cas-chrom v. the Lei-ssŭ

A study of the primitive forms of Plough in Scotland and Ancient China

PART II

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE I)

THE curious ancient figure illustrated in the last paragraph of Part I of this paper, ingeniously conjectured by Mr. Hsü-Chung-shu to stand for the modern character 爵 *chüeh*, in its sense of nobility, serves to introduce us to a peculiar word and its character, often used in Chinese texts dealing with the old-time agriculture.

This word is *ou* or *ŋou*, and is written 耦. Marked by the Determinative 耒 *lei*, plough, it is merely a specific application of the commoner character 偶 *ou*, of more generalized usage. This syllable *ou* possesses and expresses the fundamental idea of *duality*. It is therefore fitly rendered in English by any one of the words "double", "pair", "mate", "match", "fellow", or "partner", or, when Numbers are concerned, by *even*. What then is the correct sense of the binomial phrase 耦耕 *ou kêng*, "double ploughing"? It is generally agreed that this implies two ploughmen, but what is less clear is in what way the two men worked together. Were they "two farmers working as associates" (as Karlgren puts it),[1] and, I presume, he means simultaneously; or, as Fraser supposed, "a pair (originally of ploughmen working alternately)"[2]?

But before giving what I believe to be the answer to this question, I should point out that this partnership of ploughing, this labour shared in common, had in the eyes of the people of that age, a certain symbolic and ethical significance. Together these farmers sweated and toiled, together they

[1] *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p. 210.

[2] Index to the *Tso Chuan*, p. 301.

fed and rested, and the plough-share that tore apart the soil formed in so doing the bond of a fellowship of testing endurance.

That such a bond of friendship did result from such close sharing of the labours of the field is shown by a passage in the *Tso Chuan*, where we find one of those narrative insets, as it were, in the main framework of the *Spring and Autumn Classic*, that to me at least, have the savour of credible tradition, and support the historicity of that Classic. It is also relevant to the particular point in hand. The passage occurs in the *chuan* in the 16th year of Duke Chao.[1]

As briefly as possible, I summarize the episode. Han Tzŭ, an envoy from the powerful State of Tsin, came to the small State of Chêng on public business. Now he possessed a valuable jade ring *huan* (環), and knew that a certain merchant of Chêng owned the fellow to it and Han much desired to acquire it. To that end, he privately requested the good offices of Tzŭ-ch'an, the chief minister of Chêng, but the latter declined this request. Han, therefore, applied direct to the merchant. The price having been settled, the merchant said he must duly report the transaction to his government. This led to the envoy from Tsin again personally requesting Tzŭ-ch'an to give his sanction to this private purchase. (Then follows the curious little piece of history I appeal to in support of my view.) The Minister Tzŭ-ch'an replied as follows: 昔我先君桓公與商人皆出自周庸次比耦以艾殺此地 * * * 而共處之. *Hsi wo hsien chün Huan kung yü Shang jên chieh ch'u tzŭ Chou pi ou i ai sha tz'ŭ ti * * * erh kung ch'u chih.* That is "In former years our late Ruler, Duke Huan, and (the ancestors of) this merchant both emigrated from Chou territory, and in turns as a pair of ploughmen cleared and opened up this region * * * and settled on it as joint holders."

I have slightly varied from Legge's rendering, "Thus they

[1] Legge's Chinese Classics, vol. 5, part 2, p. 662 for the Chinese text, and p. 664 for the English rendering.

were associated in cultivating the land, together clearing and opening up this territory." It is an interesting little glimpse into the spread of Chinese agriculture, for "this territory", as Tzŭ-ch'an called it, the small Fief of Chêng, part of modern Honan Province, must have been wilderness when the pair of ploughmen settlers began to open it up.[1]

This passage from the *Tso Chuan*, together with several others from different works, is cited by Hsü Chung-shu, and occasions the following comment on his part, which I must cite in his own words: 甲骨銅器中的丽字,兩耒並列,正象其比耦之形, *chia ku t'ung ch'i chung ti li tzŭ, liang lei ping lieh, chêng hsiang ch'i pi ou chih hsing*, that is, The character 丽 *li* occurring on the Bones and Bronzes, two ploughs side by side, exactly pictures the "pair of ploughs" (previously quoted).

Here at last we have a refreshingly explicit statement, although a pregnant one, for as here written, more is meant than meets the eye. For the form of the seventh character in the above sentence, as reproduced by Hsü, does not occur in either the Honan Bones or the old Bronzes, nor does Hsü really mean that it does so. He assumes that his readers will remember that he has already explained fully[2] his view that 丽, the *Shuo Wên's* alleged ancient form of the later character 麗 *li*, is only a misformed version of the earlier type  or  or , found in various compound characters both on the Bones and Bronzes.

In that earlier page, Hsü had laid it down that this duplicated figure of the plough 象兩耒並耕形,古者耦耕, *hsiang liang lei ping kêng hsing, ku chê ou kêng*, that is, Represented a couple of ploughs ploughing abreast—the double ploughing of the ancients.

But now to resume Mr. Hsü's comment as quoted on the previous page, from the words "pair of ploughs", we read,

[1] See note at end of this paper.

[2] See *Academia Sinica*, vol. ii, part i, p. 14, and p. 49.

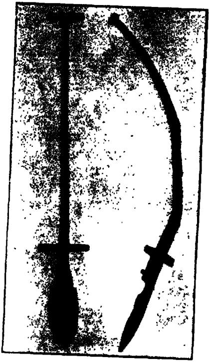
And what was it that in ancient times rendered double-ploughing (*ou kêng*) necessary? There were, he thinks, two different reasons, and he cites a passage from the writings of Ch'êng Yao-t'ien 程瑤田, which is much to the point—一人之力能任一耜而不能以一人勝一耜之耕. 何也? 無佐助之者力不得出也. 故必二人並二耜而耦耕之, 合力同奮剚土得勢, 以終長畝不難也, "One man's strength can support one plough (耜 *ssŭ*), but it is beyond one man's strength to cope with the task of driving one plough. How is this? Without the help of someone at his side, his full strength cannot be exerted. Hence it requires two men *and* two ploughs for double-ploughing and their combined strength and mutual emulation give success in driving the shares into the soil till the full length of the furlong is finally achieved."

Mr. Hsu concludes his dissertation on the obsolete practice of "double ploughing" or plough-partnership thus:—

Under the feudal system of society, families of hereditary rank, and the plain masses of the people, were sharply divided into two grades, so that the sons of agricultural labourers were always labourers. The system of ploughing-partners (耦耕制 *ou keng chih*) under this phase of society, made it impossible to have any change of status. Subsequently to the period of the Contending States, persons of hereditary rank were sometimes reduced to the position of underlings, while a man of a thatched hut sometimes rose to be a Minister of State. When that happened, the son of a labourer would not always remain a labourer. And when that point was reached, there was given the first inkling of the break-up of the status of plough-partnership.

THE 耜 *Ssŭ*

We must now pass on to the farming implement called 耜, a character and sound which, like some Welsh names, such



（正 面）　（側 面）
奈良正倉院所藏子日手辛鋤

To face p. 40.

as Llanuwchllyn, it is easier to peruse in silence than to try to pronounce aloud.

The character shown above consists of 耒 *lei*, a plough, as the Determinative, and another element having the sound *ssŭ*, and the form in modern writing , more correctly . But the earlier shape was (Mr. Hsü illustrates sixteen variants), which the latter claims, no doubt rightly, is a diagrammatic figure of the implement, and the original way of writing the word *ssŭ* meaning plough,[1] now augmented to the compound form 耜. As we have seen, Hsü argues that the *lei* and the *ssŭ* were two kinds of different implements. The lower end of the *lei* was forked, that of the *ssŭ* consisted of a single blade. The *lei* was modelled on the branch of a tree, the *ssŭ* copied the shape of a wooden club, 木 棒 *mu pang*, and its lower part being bevelled could be utilized to cut into the soil 刺 地 *tz'ŭ ti*. At this point Hsü introduces a fresh and rather conjectural factor in the sequence of development of his thesis. This is the 弋 *i*, which he regards as being the earlier form of 杙 *i*, a stake, quoting from a passage in the *Tso Chuan*, 以 杙 抉 其 傷 *i i chüeh ch'i shang*, "On this, he drove a stake into his wound and died."

Now the early scription of 弋 is, I think, rather uncertain, and the two variants cited from the same compound character 杙 *i*, are from Bronzes, and are written  and . In his opinion they represent the 木 棒 *mu pang*, mentioned above. Well, perhaps, but I must not go off at a tangent. Hsü now suggests that it is from this shaped object that the 耜 *ssŭ* was probably "metamorphosed" 蛻 變 *t'o pien*, as he phrases it. It is clear, I think, that what Hsü describes as a *mu pang* or wooden

[1] In a rather long and tiring entry on this and some of its variants in "Pict. Reconn.," part 3, in the *JRAS.*, 1919, p. 380, I had suggested that the figure of a bent-handled spoon or ladle was the original, but at some later date had pencilled a note "unless it is the original form of *ssŭ* a ploughshare".

stake, is nothing else than the digging-stick. He says, The *i* 弋 (the digging-stick) was the very earliest implement of tillage, capable of cutting into the soil, 刺地 *tz'ŭ ti*, but not of turning it over 發土 *fa t'u*. And so in later times they added at the lower end of the 弋 *i* a rounded, flat, wooden blade, made by hewing it from wood. It thus differed from the *lei*, which was prepared by bending wood by fire.

Our author has had the happy idea of demonstrating the configuration he believes what I may term this reinforced 弋 *i* to have had, by a photograph of an exhibit in a Japanese museum, which I have ventured to reproduce in Plate I. This object is described in Japanese as a hoe, 子日手辛鋤, and is preserved in the Shôsôin Treasury at Nara. Its record shows that it was presented to the Buddhist Temple by a Japanese Sovereign in a year corresponding to A.D. 758, and Hsü concludes that it must have been brought into Japan in T'ang or pre-T'ang times as an offering, 當爲唐或唐以前輸入日本之物 *tang wei t'ang huo t'ang i ch'ien shu ju jih pen chih wu*. It is, he says, an extant relic of the *ssŭ* 耜 in the fashion of ancient times.

Coming to another point rather elaborately illustrated with figures in this essay, here in his pages 35 to 40 he has shown no fewer than thirteen examples of more or less horse-shoe shaped objects, of which I have copied two below.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

Now Mr Hsü Chung-shu lays it down as an axiom that all the Chinese early coins were by origin models of implements of tillage, 錢幣原爲農具的倣製品 *ch'ien pi yuan wei nung chü ti fang chih p'in*. And it is also equally credible that all the objects illustrated were in their time coin

of the realm, though that realm may have had definite local limits.

We have also to remember that the modern Chinese term for a plough is not *lei-ssŭ*, nor either of these two syllables alone, but *li* 犂, a character containing *ox* as a Determinative, and significant of a vital change in agricultural methods. I have only introduced this new term for plough, in view of our essayist's further statement that the earliest 犂 *li*, or modern plough, was a much enlarged form of "this kind of *ssŭ*", viz. the type he had just figured in numerous variants. When fastened upon wood, its shape was like a cap, 冠 *kuan*, hence the term *li-kuan*, lit. plough-cap, sometimes, however, written 犂 錧 *li kuan*, viz. plough-share. But whether called *li* or *li-kuan*, the implement is the same, and such a shape of plough-share was in use until the age of the Western Tsin 西 晉 *hsi Tsin*, A.D. 265 to 313. And Hsü considers that the present plough, *li*, descends from the *li-kuan* of the Han Tsin 漢 晉 age (viz. from early in the first to early in the fourth century) with some measure of development.

So, then, the line of descent is, if this theory holds good, from the digging-stick, through the rounded and flat-bladed *ssŭ*, hoe or early plough, whichever term may be deemed to fit it best, to the modern ox-drawn plough.

The author has felt it necessary to account for the co-existence in early China of two implements so similar in form and function. Let us hear what he says :—

The reason why these two implements of different pattern, the *lei* and the *ssŭ*, although not *both* of them needed by the same farmer, were yet always able, each to follow its own path of development, was because each of the two had its own "area of allegiance" where it was in general use, 各 有 其 通 行 的 領 域 之 故 *ko yu ch'i t'ung hsing ti ling yü chih ku*. And his argument now proceeds another step, set upon a further example of his axiom that the early forms of Chinese money were miniature copies of agricultural implements. Those that he now adduces are in Chinese

numismatic works styled 兩 足 布 *liang tsu pu* " two-footed money ", Figs. 3 and 4, and 空 首 布 *k'ung shou pu* " hollow-headed money ", Fig. 5. Hsü asserts that the " area of allegiance " of this type of coins, where they were the usual currency, was just that region where the *lei* was in use. And from evidence of an independent kind, we know, he says, that in the State of 齊 Ch'i (roughly Shantung Province),



Fig. 3. Fig. 4. Fig. 5.

during the Contending States period, and that of the Eastern Han, the *lei* was the implement used. We do in fact see the two prongs or blades of the *lei* still indicated in these odd coins.

In the culture prevailing in antiquity, writes Hsü, the use of metal in making implements of tillage came, as we have seen, later than its employment for the weapons of warfare. The *lei* as depicted in the Honan Bone inscriptions and on the older Bronzes, and as shown also in certain compound characters, seems to have been of wood. And the casting of the " two-footed money ", and the " hollow-headed money " appears, by their inscriptions, to point to the later part of the Ch'un ch'iu period, thus making them artefacts of the Contending States age (say, from 475 to 255 B.C.), and so of comparatively late date. Now during the decadence of the Shang Yin Dynasty the fortunes of the Chou State were rising in the west, but the latter's material resources and general culture would both have come into being later than did those of Yin. Nevertheless, the application of metal to the Chou implements of tillage seems to have been made rather earlier than it was in the Eastern regions.

Thus at a time when in the east they had not yet acquired farm implements of metal, the special feature of the *ssŭ*, and what distinguished it from the *lei*, was just its metallic

point. Hence arose the mode of speaking of the 耒 *lei* as a wooden object, and of 耜 *ssŭ* as one of metal. Later on, for the *lei* of the east they likewise chose to make use of metal in their construction, and the *lei* and the *ssŭ* having become confused under one name (*lei-ssŭ*), the result was that the bent wood handle above the *ssŭ* became the *lei*, while the metal extremity below the *lei* was known as the *ssŭ*. Although in this there may appear to be only a modification of the meaning inherent in a couple of designations, a mere question of terminology, yet in fact there was involved a complete revolution in the productive resources of ancient society. 此事看來雖是一兩個名稱含義的演變, 而實是古代社會生產上一大改革, *tz'ŭ shih k'an lai sui shih i liang ko ming ch'êng han i ti yen pien, erh shih shih ku tai shê hui shêng ch'an shang i ta kai kê.*

For as soon as the people of Chou possessed these two kinds of metal tillage implements, then they were able to exploit their new agriculture, with its crops, as their ballad has it, dense "like thatch, like a hood, like islands, like mounds."[1]

Written tradition shows that the tribes under the Hsia dynasty were manifestly occupied with agriculture. Even more so were the Chou tribes who sang of 后稷 Hou Chi, as the Chief who taught them the practice of agriculture. In later ages it has been common to assert that Hou Chi had no male parent, which should by implication mean that he was a man living in a matrilineal society, that is to say, a descendant of the Kiang clan 姜姓, which was itself descended from Yen Ti 炎帝 (otherwise styled 神農 Shên Nung), who, according to tradition, was the Founder of Agriculture in China.

We may conclude this summary of the more immediately relevant paragraphs of Mr. Hsü's sketch of early Chinese agriculture with the following observations.

[1] See Legge's Chinese Classics, *The She King*, vol. 4, part 2, p. 379. I have slightly altered the wording.

In the business of ploughing and sowing, writes the author, hand and foot must work together. Besides the action of pressing with the foot, a simultaneous use of the hand is needed to thrust down the share and throw up the soil. In ancient times the operation of ploughing consisted of repeated acts of such thrusting downwards and throwing upwards until all the soil of the field was finally thus thrown up into heaps. This mode of repeated thrust-and-throw-up in turn was, before the period of the Contending States (say, previous to 475 B.C.), work for the most part done by two men together, and was known as 耦耕 *ou kêng*, ploughing in pairs.

From authors of dates during the Two Han dynasties (say, 220 B.C. to A.D. 220) who treat of the agriculture of their time, we learn that the method of plough-partners had already disappeared. Nevertheless that method was one that had been practised for a very long time, and could not have fallen suddenly into disuse. And if under the Emperor Wu (漢武帝 *Han Wu Ti*) Chao Kuo 趙過 taught the peasantry how to plough with two oxen and three men, 教民耦犂二牛三人 *chiao min ou li erh niu san jên*, this two-oxen ploughing was simply one method of tillage by the "double ploughing" of that time, plus some slight change and addition thereto.

It will be well to add here a note upon the short narrative related on p. 46 above concerning Duke Huan of Chêng and a certain "Merchant" 商人 *Shang jên*. Mr. Hsü maintains that this expression does not mean as has hitherto been supposed, a merchant or trader 商賈 *Shang chia*, but a "man of Shang", presumably one of the "refractory populace" 頑民 *wan min*, of Yin, removed to Lo-yang (in modern Honan) by King Ch'êng of Chou in his fifth year, according to the Bamboo Books.

The MS. Bodl. Marsh 384

By A. Ahmedali

THE MS. consists of 203 folios; but the first leaf bears only the title of the work. Size of the written page is 8¼ in. by 5½ in.: thirty to thirty-one lines to a page. On the title-page appear the words كتاب تاريخ اخبار قريش ونسبهم وهو المسمى بالجمهرة تصنيف ابى عبدالله بن مصعب رواية ابى عبدالله احمد بن سلمان الطوسى رض, which are of a much later date than the MS. itself, and added probably by some bookseller. The colophon, which is written in the same hand as the text, contains the date 7th Sha'bān, 547. The whole MS. is very closely written and with hardly any diacritical points or vowel-signs. The absence of these and the peculiar style of the writing make it rather difficult reading. Unfortunately the work is not complete in this MS. The whole work was divided into twenty-three sections (اجزاء), of which the last ten sections (14–23) are given here complete and the greater part of section 13, of which only a page or two seem to be missing. Thus the first portion of the MS. comprising more than half the work is missing.

Both the name of the work and the name of the author as given on the title-page are erroneous. The correct name of the work is كتاب جمهرة نسب قريش واخبارها or shortly كتاب نسب قريش; for every new section begins with the words الجزء (الرابع عشر) من كتاب جمهرة نسب قريش واخبارها, while the colophon begins with the words هذا اخر كتاب نسب قريش.[1] The author of the work is Abū 'Abdullāh az-Zubair b.

[1] See also Fihrist (Leip.), p. 110, كتاب نسب قريش واخبارها. See also Ḥaj. Khal., where it is differently given; in Yāqūt, iv, 219, it is كتاب انساب قريش واخبارها; in Ibn Khall. كتاب انساب قريش; but I regard the MS. itself and the Fih. as more accurate in this respect. See also Ibn al-Khair al-Ishbīlī's Fihrist, p. 239.

Abū Bakr Bakkār b. ʿAbdullāh b. Muṣʿab az-Zubairī, and not Abū ʿAbdullāh Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdullāh b. Muṣʿab, as given on the title-page. The relation in which these two persons stand to each other will be shown later.

Both the work and the present MS. are very important. It is one of the earliest works on the *nasab* of Quraish, and one of the very few that are extant,[1] the earliest works on the subject being *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* by Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī, d. 225,[2] *Kitāb Nasab Quraish*, an abridgment of a greater work *Kitāb an-Nasab al-Kabīr* or *al-Jamhara fi'n-Nasab*, both by Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī d. 206,[3] and *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* by Abū ʿAbdullāh Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdullāh b. Muṣʿab, d. 233.[4] To the last work and its author reference will be made later. But the *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* of Abū ʿAbdullāh az-Zubair in course of time superseded them all in importance and served as the main source of information on the subject: "وعلى كتابه في انساب قريش الاعتماد في معرفة انساب القرشيين".[5]

At the beginning of most of the sections the name of the book, the name of the author, and the *riwāyah* are given thus:

الجزء الخامس عشر من كتاب جمهرة نسب قريش واخبارها

صنعة ابي عبدالله الزبير بن بكار بن عبدالله بن مصعب

رواية ابي عبدالله احمد بن سليمان الطوسي عنه

رواية ابي طاهر محمد بن عبد الرحمن المخلص عنه

رواية ابي عبدالله الحسين بن احمد بن محمد السلماسي عنه

Reference will be made to this *riwāyah* later. The author of the work, to mention his full *nasab*, is Abū ʿAbdullāh az-

[1] See Brockel., i, 139–141, and Muṣʿab's work referred to above, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 11336.

[2] Fih., 101.

[3] Ibid., 97.

[4] Ibid., 110.

[5] Yāqūt, iv, 218. See also Ibn Khall. (Cairo), i, 230: وعليه اعتماد الناس في معرفة نسب القرشيين. Also Brockel., i, 141, where both the author and the work are mentioned. Another MS. exists in the Koprulu Library, Istambul, but it also consists of the second half of the work.

Zubair b. Abī Bakr Bakkār b. Abdullāh b. Muṣ'ab b. Thābit b. 'Abdullāh b. az-Zubair b. al-'Awwām al-Qurashi, who came from Medina, was a great scholar and author of several works, and was appointed the *qāḍi* of Mekka where he died in 256.[1] Now Abū 'Abdullāh b. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdullāh, the author of the other *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* mentioned above, is the uncle of Zubair :—

az-Zubair b. al-'Awwām
|
'Abdullāh
|
Thābit
|
Muṣ'ab
|
'Abdullāh
|
Abū 'Abdullāh Muṣ'ab — Abū Bakr Bakkār
|
Abū 'Abdullāh az-Zubair

The source of the information of our author is the *riwāyah* of his uncle Muṣ'ab; for most (not all) of the *riwāyāt* in the book begin as حدثنا الزبير قال وحدثنى عمى مصعب بن عبدالله, while some go back to his grandfather: حدثنا الزبير قال واخبرنى عمى مصعب بن عبدالله عن جدّى عبدالله بن مصعب.

The fact that Zubair relates on the authority of Muṣ'ab and that both these works are named alike might have led some to think that they were one and the same and even to identify Zubair's work with that of Muṣ'ab.[2] But they are two different compilations by two different authors, viz. Muṣ'ab and Zubair, and handed down through entirely different channels. The *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* of Muṣ'ab comes to us

[1] Yāqūt, iv, 218; Ibn Khall., i, 236; Fih., 110.

[2] As appears from the title that has been given to the Bodley MS.

through Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Jamīl al-Andalusī through Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Zuhair b. Ḥarb b. Shaddād al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn Abī Khaithama[1]; while the *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* of Zubair comes to us through Aḥmad b. Sulaimān aṭ-Ṭūsī through Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mukhalliṣ through al-Ḥusain b. Ja'far as-Salmāsī as stated above. Both Aḥmad b. Sulaimān and his father Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd aṭ-Ṭūsī got the work first-hand from the author himself, as mentioned in a note appended at the end of the MS. in the same hand as the text: —

حدثنا ابن شاذان قال حدثنا ابوعبدالله محمد بن طاهر
الباشر المعروف بابن قتبة قال سمعت الخضر بن داود بمكة يقول
قدم سليمان بن داود الطوسي وهو على البريد وكان قد اصطنع
ابو عبدالله الزبيري كتاب النسب فهدى اليه هدايا بمكة واهدى
اليه ابو عبدالله الزبير بن بكار كتاب النسب فقال له احب ان
تقرأه علىّ فقرأه عليه وسمع ابنه ابو عبدالله احمد بن سليمان مع
ابيه الكتاب

[1] The reference is to the Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 11336. It is in 110 folios. The written page is 8 in. by 5½ in., with twenty-four lines to a page. It is written in Moroccan Arabic script, and is dated 1131 in the colophon. The title-page bears the name انساب قريش اوجمهرة انساب قريش in pencil, which is erroneous and which again shows some confusion with Zubair's work; for inside the book at the beginning of every new section (جزء); there are twelve sections in all) the name is given as كتاب نسب قريش (see also Fihrist 110). The isnād is given more clearly at the beginning of section ii: حدثنا ابواسحق ابراهيم بن موسى بن جميل الاندلسي بمصر قال حدثنا ابوبكر احمد بن زهير بن حرب بن شداد البغدادي المعروف بابن ابي خيثمة قال قرأ على ابوعبدالله المصعب . . . وقرأت عليه (note مصعب is written here and throughout the book with the article, a sign of decadent scholarship). For life of Aḥmad b. Zuhair, Ibn Abī Khaithama, see Yāqūt, i, 126, where, however, instead of ابن ابي خيثمة he is called ابوخيثمة which is obviously wrong (for he is Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaithama Zuhair b. Ḥarb) and where it is confirmed that Ibn Abī Khaithama اخذ علم النسب عن مصعب بن عبدالله الزبيري. He died in 279. See also T. Baghdād, iv, 162. For a full biography of Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdullah see T. Bagh., xiii, 112 seq. As the Brit. Mus. MS. was copied as late as A.H. 1131, it is very probable that an earlier MS. of Muṣ'ab's work might be in existence somewhere in the Maghrib. So far perhaps this is the only known MS.

This incident is also given by Yāqūt in the biography of Aḥmad b. Sulaimān aṭ-Ṭūsī in more or less the same words. He, however, adds further: فروى عنه ابو بكر بن شاذان وابو حفص بن شاهين وابو عبدالله المرزبانى و المخلص.[1] Of the *rāwīs* mentioned here, al-Mukhalliṣ is the same as Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān mentioned in the *riwāyah* of the book given above, while reference will be made to Abū Bakr b. Shādhān later. The *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* of Zubair as judged from the present MS. was more voluminous than that of his uncle Muṣ'ab as judged from the MS. in the British Museum. About half of the former (about eleven sections out of twenty-three) as represented in this MS. covers 202 folios while Muṣ'ab's complete work as represented in the British Museum MS. covers only 110 folios, the size of the page and the amount of the written text on each being almost the same in both cases.

Now I come to the MS. itself which is very important and interesting in more than one way. It is not written by an ordinary copyist. It was written by Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Bakhtiyār al-Māndā'ī himself who was a great *faqīh*, and, learned in *adab* and philological sciences, a *qāḍi* at Wāsiṭ and an author. He died in 552 in Bagdad.[2] The colophon in his own handwriting runs thus:—

هذا اخر كتاب نسب قريش والحمدلله رب العالمين وصلواته
على سيدنا محمد النبى و اله الاكرمين فرغ من كتبته احمد بن

[1] Yāq., i, 135–6, where, however, instead of بابن قتيبة, is given بقتيبة, which is erroneous. This passage also incidentally proves Zubair's authorship of the work. See also T. Bagh., iv, 177, where the same incident is described (in fact, Yāqūt took it from the *Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*) and where in the biography of Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭūsī is mentioned that وكان عنده عن الزبير كتاب النسب. Here, however, instead of المباشر المعروف بابن قتيبة is given الناشى المعروف بابن قتيبة which is doubly wrong.

[2] وقد ولى القضاء بواسط وكان فقيها فاضلاله معرفة تامة بالادب واللغة وبد با سطة فى كتب السجلات والكتب الحكمية Yāqūt, i, 379, where his full biography is given; see also Ibn al-Jauzī's *Muntaẓam*, MS. Aya Sofia 3098, p. 157; photographs with Dr. Krenkow, Cambridge.

بختيار بن على بن محمد الماندائى الواسطى فى سابع شعبان من
سنة سبع واربعين وخمس مائة بمدينة السلام حماها الله

Now at the time of copying out this MS., or shortly afterwards, he had the advantage of having before him, or collating it afterwards with, at least three different MSS., the one belonging to Abū Ṭāhir al-Fatḥ, the second to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Farrā' al-Ḥanbalī,[1] d. 526, and the third to Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir as-Salāmī,[2] d. 550, all men of letters. For on the margins there are notes which refer to these MSS. It seems that the division of the work into sections was either not made by the author, or the division made by him was not adhered to by the later copyists, every one of whom seems to have made his own sectional division, and these notes on the margin refer to the sections as found in those three MSS. For instance, on p. 2 which is about the beginning of section 13 in the present MS. there is the note آخر الرابع عشر من نسخة ابن الفراء واول الخامس عشر; on p. 23b اخر جزء الثانى عشر من نسخة الشيخ الامام ابى الفضل and on p. 44b اخر الرابع عشر من نسخة ابى طاهر [illegible] الفتح. The notes with regard to the MSS. of Ibn Farrā' and Abu'l Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir are more frequent than those with regard to that of Abū Ṭāhir.[3] There is

[1] For his biography see *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, iv, 79. He is the author of *Ṭab. al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus, 1350.

[2] His name occurs incidentally in Yāqūt, vi, 32, 338, etc., and his biography is given by Ibn Khall., i, 618. He died in Baghdad in 550. He was the sheikh of Ibn al-Jauzī, and is mentioned by him as authority on most pages of his *Muntaẓam* (MS. Aya Sofia 3098, biography on pp. 143–4; photographs with Dr. Krenkow).

[3] The notes with regard to the MS. of Ibn Farrā' occur on pp. 2 (14th), 16b (15th), 31 (16th), 47 (17th), [illegible] 23b (12th), [illegible] 61 (14th), 78 (15th), 91 [illegible] 174b (21st), 186 (24th). Abū Ṭāhir, pp. 44b (14th), 79 (16th), 148b (20th), 164 (21st), 193 (23rd). I take the note on p. 4 where the name is illegible as referring to the MS. of Abu'l Faḍl. The name Abū Ṭāhir al-Fatḥ is not certain as it is differently written all through. At first I was inclined to

a note on p. 178*b* which, though only one of its nature in the whole MS., is of great importance and which runs اخر السابع من اجزاء المخلص.[1] This shows that the present MS. was compared with the MS. belonging to Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. ʻAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Mukhalliṣ, and the fact that the learned copyist had at his disposal the original MS. of the first but one *rāwi* of the work imparts special importance to his MS. On the margins, besides these notes, there are a few corrections made here and there probably by the learned copyist himself at the time of the collation.

There are two notes on p. 196 and p. 203*b* which are important inasmuch as they give the different *isnāds* through which the work reached Abu'l-ʻAbbās Aḥmad b. Bakhtiyār al-Māndā'ī, the learned copyist. The first note is by Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir (mentioned above) and is dated 19th Dhu'l-Ḥijja, 547. It is to the effect that this MS. was read to him by its owner and compared with the MS. in his possession in which were the *isnāds* of his teachers.[2] Here he gives two *isnāds*, both going to Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ, the one through Muḥammad b. al-Farrā' > Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Maslama, and the other through Abu'l-Ḥusain al-Mubārak b. ʻAbd al-Jabbār aṣ-Ṣairafī[3] >

think that he was no other than Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ, but such forms as الى المصح, p. 164, coupled with the fact that the words اخر السابع من اجزاء المخلص occur on p. 178*b*, dissuaded me from holding that view. On p. 44*b* I read الى طاهر المصح as ابى طاهر as in other places the ابى is clearer.

[1] The name of al-Mukhalliṣ occurs in one more marginal note (p. 187*b*) but it refers only to a reading.

[2] قد سمع منى وعلىّ جميع كتاب النسب عن الزبير بن بكار الزبيرى رح صاحبه القاضى الاجل الامام العالم الاديب الفقيه جمال العلماء ابو العباس احمد بن بختيار بن على بن محمد بن الماندائى الواسطى الشافعى ادام الله جماله ونفعه بعلمه عرضا بالاصل الذى فيه سماع شيوخنا و سماعنا منهم . . .
This passage also shows incidentally the esteem in which Aḥmad b. Bakhtiyār, the copyist of the MS., was held by his contemporaries.

[3] Yāqūt, vii, 247, where he is incidentally mentioned as a traditionalist, but where his *kunya* is given as ابو الحسن, which is wrong. (Cf. v, 176 and 291.) See also *Shadharāt*, iii, 412, where his full biography is given in

Abū 'Abdullāh al-Ḥusain b. Ja'far as-Salmāsī.[1] The other note which is just below the colophon is by the copyist himself. It gives a third *isnād* through which the work had reached Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir. It is Abu'l-Ḥusain al-Mubārak > Abu'l Qāsim at-Tanūkhī[2] > Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Shādhān[3] > Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Sa'īd ad-Dimashqī.[4] All these are well-established *isnāds* (see notes below). It is also established that 'Alī at-Tanūkhī also "heard" Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ himself, and that Abū Bakr b. Shādhān also "heard" Aḥmad at-Ṭūsī. The *isnād* from Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ > Aḥmad at-Ṭūsī > Abū 'Abdullāh az-Zubair has already been given above. All these names go to prove that the work has come down to us through well-established *isnāds*. These have been tabulated below :—

الزبیر	احمد الطوسی	ابی طاهر المخلص	ابی جعفر ابن مسلمة	ابن الفراء	ناصر
			ابوعبد الله السلماسی		
	ابن سعد الدمشقی	ابوبکر ابن شاذان	علی التنوخی	المبارك	

the course of which is also given his *'urf* ابن الطیوری as it occurs in Abu'l Faḍl's note in the MS. Here it is also mentioned that he سمع ابا علی بن شاذان who was the son of Abū Bakr b. Shādhān (see *Shadharāt*, iii, 104). He died in 500.

[2] See Sam'ānī, 302, where he and some of his relations are mentioned; also T. Bagh., viii, 29. He died 446.

[3] He is al-Qāḍī Abu'l Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī, the son of al-Qāḍī Abū 'Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī, the author of *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*. See Yāqūt, v, 301-9. He died 447. See also T. Bagh., ii, 322, where in the biography of al-Mukhalliṣ the *isnād* القاضی ابو القاسم التنوخی ع المحسن ع احمد بن سلیمان الطوسی is given (see the above table, see also note 4 below).

[4] T. Bagh., xiii, 113, where in the biography of Muṣ'ab is given the *isnād* اخبرنا الازهری ع احمد بن ابراهیم ع احمد بن سلیمان ع الزبیر بن بکار where Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm is no other than Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Shādhān. See also *Shadharāt*, iii, 104, where his biography is given. He died in 383.

[5] Yāqūt, i, 133, where in the course of his biography it is mentioned that "وحدث عن الزبیر بن بکار . . . من مصنفاته" See also T. Bagh., iv, 171, where in his biography the *isnād* علی بن المحسن ع ابی بکر بن شاذان is given. Here 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin is the same as al-Qāḍī Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī (see the above table).

There is another note which is repeated almost verbatim at the end of every section. It is to the effect that this MS. was read to Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mandā'ī (المنداىٔ) who is no other than the son of the learned copyist himself, المنداىٔ being another form of المانداىٔ.[1] The first of these notes is dated 8th Ramaḍān, 583, while the last 15th Muḥarram, 584. There are some other very short notes at the beginning and at the end of every section written by 'Abd ar-Razzaq b. Aḥmad b. ash-Shaibānī, an historian, died 723.[2] These, however, are of no importance inasmuch as they only mention that he read the MS. and prepared a genealogical tree out of its contents. The last of these notes is dated Ṣafar 696.

PS.—p. 58, note 1. There is another, though incomplete, MS. of Muṣ'ab's work in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. See *Catalogo de los codices arabigos*, Madrid, 1862, p. 58, No. 151, which contains the last portion of chap. i, ii–vi complete, a great part of vii, last portion of viii, ix complete, and greater part of x: 8°, 108 fols. See also Derenbourg, *Notes sur les MSS. Arabes de Madrid* in *Homenaje á F. Codera*, p. 600, No. cccl.

See also Fih., p. 321, where both Abū Khaithama Zuhair b. Ḥarb (d. 234) and Ibn Abī Khaithama are mentioned. Also Dhahabī, Tadh. Ḥuff. ii, 24, where the former is described as الحافظ الكبير محدث بغداد, and p. 172, where the latter is mentioned as الحافظ الحجة الامام . . . صاحب التاريخ الكبير . . . وعلم النسب عن مصعب. According to Ibn Athīr (vi, 298) Abū Khaithama was one of the seven to whom the Miḥna was first issued.

[1] His name is incidentally mentioned in Yāq., vi, 186, where he is mentioned as one of the philologists, grammarians, and traditionalists.

[2] For biography, see Fawāt, i, 348; *ad-Durar al-Kāmina*, ii, 364; and *Shadharāt*, vi, 60. He is the author of *al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmi'a*, Baghdād, 1351.

The Forerunner of al-Ghazālī

By MARGARET SMITH

IN his *al-Munkidh min al-Ḍalāl* [1] al-Ghazālī states that he studied the works of al-Muḥāsibī, together with those of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, al-Junayd, Shiblī, and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, and of these Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (ob. 243/857) was the earliest and the most prolific writer, and to him al-Ghazālī owes more of his teaching than has been generally realized, and much that has been attributed to al-Ghazālī as representing his original ideas, is in fact based upon the earlier teaching of al-Muḥāsibī and, in many instances, is directly borrowed from him.

This seems to have been the case with a good deal of al-Ghazālī's eschatological teaching, for passage after passage in, e.g. the *Durrat al-Fākhira* shows a close resemblance to the contents of al-Muḥāsibī's *al-Ba'th wa'l-Nushūr* (MS. Paris, 1913) and the *Kitāb al-Tawahhum* (MS. Oxford Hunt. 611). But it is in his ascetical and mystical teaching that al-Ghazālī has built most obviously upon the foundations laid by al-Muḥāsibī, with an occasional acknowledgment of his indebtedness, but more often by the simple appropriation of al-Muḥāsibī's definitions, doctrines, and illustrations, to serve his own purposes. In the account which al-Ghazālī gives of his own religious experience, culminating in his conversion, he has very obviously taken al-Muḥāsibī's account of his spiritual difficulties and experiences as his model.[2]

In his *Iḥyā' fī 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, al-Ghazālī seeks to set forth a rule of life which will enable the believer to carry out the law of God, first of all in regard to the outward conduct, the "actions of the members",[3] and then in regard to the inner life, the "actions of the heart", which he divides into those

[1] p. 20 (ed. Cairo, A.H. 1309).

[2] Cf. *Munkidh min al-Ḍalāl*, pp. 1 ff., and al-Muḥāsibī's *Waṣāya* (*Naṣā'iḥ*), fols. 15 ff. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 7900).

[3] *Iḥyā'*, parts i and ii.

which are pernicious, requiring the discipline of asceticism to counteract them, and those which are wholesome, the virtues, which can be acquired by the help of the Divine grace and will render the soul fit, if God so will, to attain to the rank of the saints, the lovers of God who enter into fellowship with Him.[1] The chief of the things which corrupt the heart, which make for destruction, al-Ghazālī holds to be lust, the sins of the tongue, anger, hatred and jealousy, the love of this world, covetousness, hypocrisy, vanity, pride (عجب) and self-conceit (كبر), and finally self-delusion. All these pernicious qualities al-Ghazālī regards as diseases of the heart (امراض قلب) which therefore require healing. The remedies for this corruption are the things which are wholesome for the heart, which make for salvation, which are Repentance, Patience and Gratitude, Fear and Hope, Poverty and Asceticism, Unification and Dependence on God, Love, Longing and Satisfaction, a good Intention, Single-mindedness (اخلاص) and Sincerity (صدق), Self-examination (محاسبة) and Meditation ([illegible]), Reflection, and the Remembrance of Death.

al-Muḥāsibī deals with practically all of these subjects in his *Ri'āya li Ḥuqūq Allāh* and others of his works, where he also takes the view that these sins are "diseases", for which he provides a remedy. His list of capital sins includes *jealousy* in its different forms, sins of the tongue, love of this world and of wealth, hypocrisy, to which he devotes many chapters, conceit and pride, self-delusion, and the lusts of the self. His remedies for these sins and the rule of life by which they may be avoided, and the sincere believer may be led onwards and upwards, until he reaches the unitive life in God, include all the subjects dealt with by al-Ghazālī in Part iv of the *Iḥyā'*.

In dealing with sin in general, al-Ghazālī divides sins into those committed by the servant against God alone and those

[1] Ibid., parts iii and iv.

which he commits also against fellow-servants,[1] a distinction which al-Muḥāsibī had also drawn.[2] al-Ghazālī, like other Muslim the ologians, classifies sins as venial (صغائر) and mortal (كبائر), mentions that the number of mortal sins according to the theologians varies from seven to seventy, and gives some of the most prominent, corresponding to the list made by al-Muḥāsibī, and finally gives al-Muḥāsibī's conclusion that all that God penalizes with Hell-fire is a mortal sin.[3] He also notes that the venial sin may become mortal, and that the chief causes of this are contumacy and stubbornness, and he quotes the statement that there is no venial sin combined with contumacy and no mortal sin if forgiveness is asked for it, a principle also laid down by al-Muḥāsibī, who gives his source.[4]

Of temptation, and especially the temptation which is the work of Satan, al-Ghazālī observes that first the idea of doing a thing enters into the mind (خاطر), then the idea arouses the desire to do it, desire leads the heart to decide upon doing it and the decision leads to action to that end, and so the thing is done. But if the original suggestion can be checked at the start, it will not then lead to sin.[5] So also writes al-Muḥāsibī, "The suggestions of Satan have no significance in themselves, their significance lies in the fact that you are forbidden to accept them and if the suggestion is rejected, you are safe, and what you are called upon to reject is not something great and powerful but what is little and weak," which, if not resisted, might lead to sin. He says elsewhere that no temptation to error or sin can do any injury, unless the soul responds to it.[6]

Dealing with the capital sins, al-Ghazālī characterizes

[1] *Iḥyā'*, iv, 14.
[2] *Kitāb Aḥkām al-Tawbat*, fol. 13a (Cairo Taṣ. Sh. 3).
[3] *Iḥyā'*, iv, 15. Cf. al-Muḥāsibī, op. cit., fol. 18a.
[4] *Iḥyā'*, iv, 28; *Kitāb Aḥkām al-Tawbat*, fol. 14b.
[5] *Iḥyā'*, iii, 23 ff.
[6] *Ri'āya*, fol. 48b, 91b.

hypocrisy as being a secret desire of the soul more injurious than the sensual desires. It is polytheism in that it means service done for the sake of another than God, setting up the good-pleasure of men as another god. al-Ghazālī compares it, in its insidiousness, with the creeping of the ant.[1] al-Muḥāsibī's teaching is obviously the basis for much of this and al-Ghazālī actually refers to him in this connection.[2] al-Muḥāsibī had also taught that Hypocrisy was always desire for something other than God and desire to gain something from men, in appearing to serve God. He also compares it with the creeping of the ant and to him, too, it is polytheism, for the hypocrite, he says, "is a polytheist in what he does, seeking the praise of the creatures as well as the praise of the Creator."[3] The remedy for hypocrisy al-Ghazālī finds to be single-mindedness (إخلاص). It is, he says, necessary that all works should be done for the sake of God, the heart not resting content with the praise of men, nor despairing on account of their censure. "Know," he adds, "that hypocrisy arises from thinking too highly of mankind and the remedy is to regard them as mere servants under the authority of God and to reckon them as of no account, so that you may escape from hypocrisy on their account."[4] So also al-Muḥāsibī, using the simile of the purification of silver from dross and of wheat from tares, urges the purification of the heart from hypocrisy that it may be single-minded towards God. Let the servant resist all desire for the praise and favours of men and let his thoughts be concentrated on the will of his Lord, and let all be done for His sake. Let him free himself from the dissipation of his interests through consideration of the creatures, and so be saved from the sin of hypocrisy and men-pleasing, knowing that his relations with the creatures are of no consequence, while his relations

[1] *Iḥyā'*, iii, 264 ff., 275, 277 ff.
[2] Ibid., iii, 271.
[3] *Riʿāya*, fol. 40a ff.
[4] *Ayyuha'l-Walad*, p. 68 (ed. Beyrout).

with God are of the greatest importance both in this world and the next.[1]

al-Ghazālī devotes several chapters to the discussion of Pride in its various forms, including that of arrogance, which he regards as an encroachment upon what is the prerogative of God alone, for He has said, "Greatness is My mantle and Majesty My veil, and he who snatches from Me one or the other, I will cast into Hell," and he goes on to quote the words of the Prophet as reported by 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, "None will enter Paradise who has within his heart the weight of a grain of mustard seed of arrogance." Also he gives the tradition of Ibn 'Abbās that the Prophet said, "When the servant humbles himself God raises him up to the seventh heaven," and the words ascribed to Christ that "as the seed grows in soft soil, so wisdom dwells in the humble heart".[2] All of these had been used by al-Muḥāsibī to point the same moral.[3] Like al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ghazālī teaches that arrogance means a wrong attitude towards both God and one's fellow-men, and he, as al-Muḥāsibī had done, gives Wahb's parable of the rain, which, when it is absorbed by the roots of the trees, strengthens the qualities they already possess, and if they bear sweet fruit, will make it sweeter still, and if sour fruit, will make it still more sour, and so also the proud man, if he gains knowledge, will become prouder still. al-Ghazālī's remedies for pride are also those of al-Muḥāsibī, and he quotes the story of the outcast of the children of Israel, who passed by a devout Jew, wearing a turban to mark his dignity, and the outcast said within himself that if he sat beside that pious man, it might be that God would have mercy on him, but the pious man repulsed him, in his pride, and God spake by the mouth of a prophet declaring that He had forgiven the outcast and rejected that pious man, and the turban which marked his dignity was transferred

[1] *Ri'āya*, fols. 54*a*, 46*a*.
[2] *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 290 ff.
[3] *Ri'āya*, fols. 105*a*, 105*b*, 106*a*.

from his head to that of the outcast, because this poor man had humbled himself before God and had submitted to Him in his heart. This is followed by another tradition of the children of Israel,[1] and both are quoted by al-Muḥāsibī in the same connection.[2]

In dealing with Pride in the form of self-conceit (عُجب) al-Ghazālī refers to the traditional saying of the Prophet that there were three things leading to destruction, "Avarice obeyed and lust followed and a man's pride in himself," and mentions in this connection sayings of Abū Tha'laba, Ibn Mas'ūd, and Ibn Jurayj and also the question put to 'Ā'isha, "When is a man a sinner?" and her answer, "When he thinks himself to be righteous."[3] All of these are quoted by al-Muḥāsibī on this subject.[4] al-Ghazālī includes in his types of pride, pride in bodily beauty and strength, in intellect, in nobility of birth, in the number of one's children, in opinions right or wrong, and all of these find a place in al-Muḥāsibī's teaching. As an example of presumption, al-Ghazālī quotes the story of David who declared, "Not an hour passes of the night or day but some faithful servant of the house of David is worshipping Thee, either praying or fasting or praising Thee," and God rebuked David for his presumption in supposing that this came to pass save through His help and in His strength. This and the following comments, including a reference to Job, are found word for word in al-Muḥāsibī.[5]

al-Ghazālī uses the same illustrations as al-Muḥāsibī in discussing pride of wealth and possessions, and quotes the story of Abū Dharr going to the mosque with the Prophet, who bade him lift up his head and Abū Dharr saw near him a man clad in fine raiment and another meanly dressed, and the Prophet, indicating this latter, said, "This man is better

[1] *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 301 ff.; *Mukāshafa*, p. 34.
[2] *Ri'āya*, fols. 108*b*, 109*b*, 110*a*.
[3] *Iḥyā'*, iii, p. 318.
[4] *Ri'āya*, fol. 94*b*.
[5] *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 321, 322. Cf. *Ri'āya*, fols. 94*b*, 96*a*.

than a world full of such as that," a story also given in the *Ri'āya*.[1]

al-Ghazālī follows closely in the steps of al-Muḥāsibī in his treatment of the sins of envy and jealousy, and in discussing the sin of avarice (بخل) he gives the same story as al-Muḥāsibī of how the Prophet, when circumambulating the Ka'aba, saw a man clinging to the covers upon it and bewailing the greatness of his sin. The Prophet asked him if his sin was greater than the regions of the earth, or the mountains, or the ocean, or the heavens, or the throne of God, and to each question the man replied that it was greater. At last the Prophet asked, "Is your sin greater than God Himself?" and the man said, "Nay, indeed, God is greater," and confessed that he was possessed of great wealth and feared lest it should bring him to the fires of Hell, and the Prophet answered, "Begone, do not burn me with your Hell-fire: if you were to pray for a thousand years and to weep until the rivers of your tears were such as to water the trees and then were to die worthy of blame, God would cast you into Hell. Did you not know that avarice is infidelity and the infidel goes to Hell?"[2]

al-Ghazālī also follows al-Muḥāsibī in his estimate of the sins of the tongue and its proneness to evil, and gives the same advice to keep it locked up except for speech that is profitable. He quotes the same traditions of the Prophet bidding men beware of the dangers of the tongue and to seek refuge in the safety of silence, and gives a similar list of the sins for which the tongue is responsible: lying, cursing, unseemly ridicule, contention, breach of confidence, backbiting (غيبة), calumny (نميمة).[3] In discussing the love of wealth and the superiority of poverty, al-Ghazālī inserts a long section from al-Muḥāsibī's *Waṣāya* (*Naṣā'iḥ*), acknowledging its authorship and expressing his view that

[1] *Iḥyā'*, iii, p. 325. *Ri'āya*, fol. 103*b*, 104*a*.
[2] *Iḥyā'*, iii, p. 221. Cf. *Waṣāya* (*Naṣā'iḥ*), fols. 11*a* ff.
[3] *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 93 ff. Cf. al-Muḥāsibī, *al-Tawba*, fols. 4 ff.

al-Muḥāsibī was the savant (حبر) of the nation in regard to religious practice, because he based his teaching on his own wide experience.[1]

al-Ghazālī treats finally of the sin of self-delusion (غرور) and enumerates the different classes of those who delude themselves, both of believers and unbelievers, taking the same line as al-Muḥāsibī in attacking the self-righteous, who believe that God cannot punish them, and those who mistake the outward appearance of righteousness for the reality within the heart.[2] So also al-Muḥāsibī points to the self-deluded who do not realize that to have a knowledge of good is not identical with being good, and those who deceive themselves by thinking that the outward observance of religious duties can take the place of faith and a pure heart, who reckon themselves to be already saved, when in reality they are already speeding towards destruction.[3]

When he turns to wholesome things, which make for salvation, and are the antidotes for the above-mentioned sins, al-Ghazālī begins with Repentance, as the first step on the way, and illustrates his teaching with the same traditions as al-Muḥāsibī, taking the latter's view that repentance arises from the feeling that sin is a danger to salvation and should lead to contrition for wrongdoing in the past and to the intention to abandon sin in the future and to offer redress, and this will mean self-examination in regard to the past and the present.[4]

al-Ghazālī lays great stress on the virtues of dependence on God and trust in Him and, like al-Muḥāsibī, expresses the view that they are the result of faith in God as the Sole Provider, on Whom all things depend, and the believer will therefore rely completely on Him and submit his own will

[1] *Iḥyā'*, iii. pp. 229 ff. Cf. *Waṣāya*, fols. 4*b* ff.
[2] *Iḥyā'*, iii. pp. 334 ff.
[3] *Ri'āya*, fols. 124*a* ff.
[4] *Iḥyā'*, iv. pp. 11, 12 ff. Cf. *Ri'āya*, fols. 34*b*, 75*b* ff.; *al-Tawba*, fol. 13*a*.

to the Divine Will, in complete trust (تفويض), and he repeats al-Muḥāsibī's assurances of the peace of mind and body which this trust effects.[1] Of Hope, al-Ghazālī says that it is a "state", that is, temporary, in those who seek, but a "station" in those who are travellers on the way, that is, it is abiding, it has become an established virtue. al-Muḥāsibī had noted the difference between the hope of beginners on the path, who hope for mercy on their sins, and the hope of those who have advanced on the way and whose hope is to enter into the joy of their Lord.[2] al-Ghazālī's teaching on Holy Fear (خوف), the complement of Hope, is very like that of al-Muḥāsibī, and also his teaching on Patience, which he regards as the response to God's affliction of the soul in this world, which is greatest for those whom He loves best, whom He desires to make perfect thereby.[3] So also al-Muḥāsibī writes, "Your joy consists in suffering in this world and to those who endure it with patience, it is found a light thing and thereby their sins are done away."[4]

al-Ghazālī's devotional teaching also owes much to that of his great predecessor. His section on Prayer begins with this statement. "God differs from (earthly) kings, for all His unique Majesty and Greatness, in that He inspires His creatures to ask of Him and to make their plea unto Him, and He differs from the sovereigns (of this world) in opening the door and lifting the veil and giving leave to His servants to enter into familiar intercourse with Him: nor does He limit Himself to giving them permission, but He shows His kindness in inspiring them with the desire for this and calling them unto Him. Others, kings who are but creatures themselves, do not freely grant a private audience except after

[1] *Iḥyā'*, iv, pp. 211 ff., 224 ff. Cf. al-Muḥāsibī, *Makāsib wa'l Wara'*, fols. 32*a*, 32*b*; *Ādāb al-Nufūs*, fol. 59*b*, 60*a*; *Masā'il fī-A'māl*, fols. 135*b* ff.

[2] *Iḥyā'*, iv, pp. 123, 124. Cf. *Ri'āya*, fols. 124*a* ff.; *Ādāb al-Nufūs*, fol. 67*b*; *Bad' man anāb ila Allāh*, fol. 21*b*.

[3] *Iḥyā'*, iv, pp. 55, 60 ff.

[4] *Waṣāya*, fols. 11*b*, 12*a*.

the offer of gifts and bribery." [1] With this is to be compared a passage occurring in al-Muḥāsibī's *Fahm al-Ṣalāt*, where he writes, "We have seen earthly kings who do not give leave to men in general to enter into their presence—but the Supreme King, by His grace, gives leave to all His servants, high and low, the sinner and the obedient, to enter into familiar converse with Him; indeed He is not satisfied with giving leave, but goes so far as to lay it upon the servant as an obligation and to stir up his heart to that," and continues at some length in the same strain.[2]

al-Ghazālī's section on the need for humility in Prayer adheres closely to al-Muḥāsibī's teaching on the subject, in the *Waṣāyā*. al-Ghazālī insists on the need for reverence and awe on the part of those who come into the Presence of God. If this is lacking, he says, what is the worth of your prayer? Prayer is confidential intercourse (مناجاة) and how can that exist with neglect! He quotes the words of the Prophet who said, "God does not regard the prayer of any man whose heart is not present with his body." [3] Compare with this al-Muḥāsibī's exhortation to his readers, "Fear God and let your hearts be present with your bodies and stand before God as slaves stand in the presence of their masters, with humility and awe, and reverence. . . . O my brethren, recognize the power of Him before Whom you stand and show Him that reverence which is His due." [4] al-Muḥāsibī brings forward examples of the great reverence shown by the earliest Muslims, which are also quoted by al-Ghazālī, e.g. how 'Alī b. Ḥusayn, when he performed the ablutions, used to change colour and when asked the reason said, "Do you not realize in Whose Presence I am about to stand!" [5] al-Ghazālī devotes several chapters to the subject of the "presence"

[1] *Iḥyā'*, i, p. 169.
[2] Fol. 55b.
[3] *Iḥyā'*, i, pp. 134, 142 ff.
[4] *Waṣāyā* (*Naṣā'iḥ*), fol. 17b, 18a.
[5] *Iḥyā'*, i, pp. 135, 146. Cf. *Waṣāyā*, fol. 19a.

(حضور) of the heart in prayer, for, as he says, the real spirit and inner life of worship consists of humility and a good intention and the presence of the heart and single-mindedness, and these are the points upon which al-Muḥāsibī, writing 250 years earlier, had laid chief stress. This "presence" of the heart means the freedom of the heart from all except its attention to Him with Whom it is concerned. "Your heart is present," writes al-Ghazālī, "when you come into the presence of someone accounted great (in this world) who has no power to injure you or benefit you, ought it not therefore to be present when you are in confidential intercourse with the King of kings, Whose sovereign power controls all that comes to you of good or ill?"[1] So also al-Muḥāsibī, "You show honour to one another and listen in silence to those who are your fellow-creatures. Is not God, to Whom belong glory and majesty, more worthy of reverence? Why do you not give greater ho nour to Him Who is Almighty than you give to His creatures?"[2] The presence of the heart, said al-Ghazālī, "is attained by concentrating the attention, and since your heart follows after that to which it is attentive, it is present only with that which concerns it," and this presence or lack of it depends on him who prays.[3] So also writes al-Muḥāsibī, "Exert yourselves, my brethren, to ensure the presence of your hearts in prayer and do not be deceived by those whose bodies are present in prayer, while their hearts are directed towards the vanities of this world."[4]

al-Ghazālī emphasizes the importance of a sound intention, of single-mindedness and of sincerity (صدق) in the service of God and quotes al-Muḥāsibī by name in this connection.[5] He points out that intention (نيّة), desire (ارادة), and purpose (قصد) are different expressions denoting one meaning, and

[1] *Iḥyā'*, i, pp. 142, 145.
[2] *Waṣāya*, fol. 17b.
[3] *Iḥyā'*, i, p. 145.
[4] *Waṣāya*, fol. 18. Cf. *Ri'āya*, fol. 15a.
[5] *Iḥyā'*, iv, p. 326.

shows how the intention represents the desire, which is carried out in action for the sake of God or for the sake of this world.[1] So, too, had al-Muḥāsibī emphasized the fact that the intention was the essential part of action and he defined it as the "desire of the servant to act in one particular way, and when he wishes to do that act to that end, then that wish is an intention, directed either towards God Most High or towards another than Him."[2]

In his mystical teaching, though his doctrines are much more developed than those of his predecessor, al-Ghazālī follows al-Muḥāsibī in his main ideas, and there is no doubt that in setting forth his doctrine of gnosis, love, and fellowship, al-Ghazālī had before him al-Muḥāsibī's treatise on Love, as we have it in Abū Nu'aym's *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*. Of the mystic gnosis (معرفة) al-Ghazālī says, like al-Muḥāsibī, that it is an inner light, which is granted when God has taken possession of His servant's heart and has illuminated him with the light of gnosis, and when God thus controls the heart, mercy is bestowed upon it and light shines within and the secret of the invisible world is revealed to that one . . . and the inner meaning of the Divine Truth. . . . To the prophets and the saints is the mystery revealed and upon their hearts the light is shed, because they have freed their hearts from all other preoccupation and are concerned with God alone, and "when any one is God's, God is his". Again he writes, "The purpose of the gnostics is only to attain to this knowledge and possess it, for it is a consolation unknown to the souls from which it is hidden, and when it is attained, it destroys all anxieties and sensual desires and the heart becomes filled with its grace . . . because of that perfect attainment, which is above all else that can be attained. . . . He who knows God, knows that all joys (save only sensual desires) are included in this joy."[3] "The stage of bliss (درجة النعيم),"

[1] Ibid., iv, pp. 312, 326, 330.
[2] *Ri'āya*, fol. 66a.
[3] *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 16, 17; iv, p. 267.

al-Muḥāsibī had written, "is the attainment of gnosis, which is the heart's approach unto God and to the invisible world." [1] Again he says that the gnostic has within him an inner light (نور البصائر) by means of which he apprehends the spiritual meaning of things and knows that he has attained unto the Truth.[2] The gnostics are those who have been found worthy of apprehending the Divine Unity and of understanding that all is God and all is His, who have passed beyond the sphere of merely human knowledge (علم) and its limitations, who are those to whom God gives His guidance and His favour and His love, who know Him and are known of Him. The prophets and the saints are characterized by this gift of gnosis, for they are no longer concerned with the claims of human desire and are oblivious to all save God. The desires of the flesh no longer have any power over them; they have directed their activities to one end and they know what is their real concern.[3]

The gnostic, to al-Ghazālī, as to al-Muḥāsibī, is identified with the lover of God, and to al-Ghazālī, too, fellowship (انس) with the beloved is the sign of the lover. Fellowship with God, al-Ghazālī states, means separation from the creatures, and he quotes a saying of Ibrāhīm b. Adham on the subject and here proceeds to use the very words and phrases of al-Muḥāsibī, taking from him a considerable section which includes sayings of Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya and the prophet David and a conversation between 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd and a Christian monk. He gives al-Muḥāsibī's definition of fellowship as his own and repeats verbatim his teaching on "presence" (حضور) and "absence" (غيبة).[4]

al-Ghazālī follows al-Muḥāsibī in his teaching on Satisfaction (رضاء), acquiescence in God's will, stating that affliction

[1] *Makāsib wa'l-Wara'*, fol. 35*b*.

[2] *Kitāb al-Mustarshid*," fol. 4.

[3] *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, fols. 202, 240*a* ff. (Leyden Or. 311*a*), *Muḥāsabat al-Nufūs*, fol. 3.

[4] *Iḥyā'*, iv, p. 291. Cf. *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, fols. 240*b* ff. *Ri'āya*, fol. 7*a*.

from God is a mark of His love: those who bear it patiently will be the recipients of His favour and those who welcome it with satisfaction will become His chosen saints, for love issues in satisfaction with the will of the beloved.[1] In his teaching on the mystic "union", the ultimate goal of the traveller on the way to God, al-Ghazālī uses the same tradition of David used by al-Muḥāsibī concerning those into whom the Spirit of God has entered, so that they have become spiritualized (يكونوا روحانيين).[2] These are they who have attained (واصلون), whose eyes "God hath closed to all but Himself and hath made them deaf to all words save His. These are they whom He hath called to be His saints, who are His and His alone".[3]

These examples, to which others might be added, show clearly al-Ghazālī's indebtedness to his great predecessor, both for the main trend of his ascetical, devotional, and mystical teaching and for many of the ideas and illustrations of which he makes use in his rule for the religious life. Living two and a half centuries later than al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ghazālī had access to a much greater store of material, and the wide extent of his travels for which we find no parallel in the life of al-Muḥāsibī together with his own outstanding genius, enabled him to develop and expand the lines of thought suggested in the writings of his predecessor, but there is no doubt that the foundations of that great system of orthodox Islamic Mysticism which al-Ghazālī made it his business to bring to completion, had already been well and truly laid.[4]

[1] *Iḥyā'*, iv. pp. 297 ff. Cf. *Ḥilyat*, fols. 235a ff.

[2] *Iḥyā'*, iv. p. 295.

[3] *Iḥyā'*, ii. p. 236. Cf. *Ḥilyat*, fol. 233b.

[4] For a detailed study of the life and teaching of al-Muḥāsibī cf. my *Early Mystic of Baghdad*.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

CATTLE THEFT IN THE *ARTHAŚĀSTRA*

For anyone who has had administrative experience in India the puzzles of interpretation which abound in the *Arthaśāstra* have a special interest; he will recognize in many of the problems, which troubled Kauṭilya, difficulties he has had himself to tackle, and the solutions recommended are often enough based on considerations with which he is perforce familiar. Modern experience is thus enlightening at times, and I propose to apply it here to two enigmatic sentences on the subject of cattle theft in the chapter on the *go'dhyakṣa*; they run as follows (ed. Jolly and Schmidt, ii, 29, 16–17), *svadeśīyānāṁ corahṛtaṁ pratyānīya paṇitaṁ rūpaṁ haret, paradeśīyānāṁ mokṣayitārdhaṁ haret.*[1] That we have here provisions outside the ordinary range of criminal law is suggested by the absence of parallels in the law books. The reason should undoubtedly be looked for in the unique character of cattle theft as a crime, which again is determined by the nature of the article stolen. Cattle are not stolen in India for killing and eating nor for their hides, but for use, and to grasp the consequences of this in practice I must describe the old methods of cattle theft, which survived to modern times. When I served in 1913–14 in the Champaran district of Behar, which lies in an angle between Nepal and the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces, cases still used to occur sporadically, and it was the invariable practice of the thieves to remove the cattle to a far distant spot, in that district usually the wide pastures along the Gandak river in Gorakhpur, where it was next to impossible to trace the stolen property. One striking case I remember of thieves

[1] Ganapati Sastri read *paṇikaṁ rūpam*, which, whether original to him or found in his authorities, is evidently merely the guess of someone who did not understand the points in issue.

being caught in the district with stolen cattle, which on inquiry proved to belong to a Tharu living in Nepal three days' journey from the frontier. Similarly, Mr. Oldham, to whose help I have been much indebted in the preparation of this note, informs me of the case of a celebrated cattle thief in the Shahabad district of Behar some time in the last century, whose gang used to swim the animals they had stolen across the Ganges into the Ghazipur and Ballia districts of the United Provinces. The essence then of the crime lay in removing the cattle, not merely to a distant spot, but to a place outside the jurisdiction from which they had been stolen. That these methods, which arose naturally from the conditions of Indian country life, go back to Kauṭilya's days is, in my opinion, legitimately to be inferred from the contrast he draws between cattle *svadeśīyānām* and those *paradeśīyānām*, probably they date from a far earlier age, for the hymns to Pūṣan suggest that cattle theft was one of the regular crimes in the Rigvedic period and that stolen cattle were difficult to find, that is the thieves removed them far away at once.

Cattle theft on these lines demands a considerable organization, and its suppression presents a problem of much difficulty to the administrator, as involving the co-operation of different authorities, often subordinate to different states; human nature being what it is, the thieves could reckon on enjoying in practice a large measure of immunity in their operations from the lack of co-ordination between the officials concerned. The evil being beyond the control of the governments concerned, Indian society evolved methods of its own for dealing with it, varying according to the conditions of the locality. Thus in the wide sparsely populated pastoral areas of the Panjab the custom called *khoj* prevailed, whereby the last village to which the tracks of the cattle could be traced was held responsible for their recovery or, failing that, for making good the loss. This practice evidently does not explain the sentences in question and need not therefore be considered

in detail here. In more populous districts the most skilled Panjabi tracker would have been soon at a loss, and in Behar a different solution was found, which, so far as I can ascertain, did not prevail in other parts of India. It originated from the fact that the gangs, being outsiders, required confederates in the areas within which they committed their depredations, and there were generally certain persons who were well known to be in touch with the regular thieves, though evidence to secure their conviction might be lacking. When a man lost cattle by theft, he might well conclude that it was useless to report the case to the local authorities, and he would instead approach one of these persons and bargain with him for the return of the animals on payment of a fee or ransom. Under British rule this practice made it still harder to put down cattle theft; for anyone so paying a fee brought himself within the purview of the criminal law for compounding a criminal offence, and he would be most reluctant to give anything away, should the authorities hear of the matter, for fear of the legal consequences to himself, while, if the case did come to notice, his evidence was liable to be regarded as tainted. The fee for the return of the cattle is called *panahā*, a use of the word which is recognized as peculiar to Behar by the *Hindī Śabdasāgar*.[1] This term is clearly derived from the Sanskrit root *paṇ*, and the coincidence is too striking for us not to recognize a similar practice as indicated by the *paṇita rūpa* of the two sentences under discussion.

We are now in a position to scrutinize more closely the passage, whose phraseology is too condensed for clear understanding, if we have no clue by which to read it. Of the words used, *rūpa* can in this chapter only mean "head of cattle", and *haret*, lit. "should take away", i.e. "should receive". The inner meaning surely is to be deduced from

[1] This dictionary takes the word as applying to all kinds of theft, but I have never heard it used of anything except cattle theft. The derivation it gives is *papa-hāra*, which is not possible.

the contrast, to which inadequate attention has been paid, between *svadeśīyānām . . . pratyānīya* on the one hand and *paradeśīyānām mokṣayitā* on the other. For *pratyānī* and *mokṣaya* are not synonyms; why then "bring back" in one case, "free" in the other? Surely in the first case cattle are stolen from within the jurisdiction of the officer or state concerned and taken outside it, the thieves being outsiders. The man, who "brings them back", even though possibly in league with the gang, receives as a reward his *paṇahā*, not in cash as in recent times, but in a previously stipulated proportion of the herd (or a previously stipulated animal), the *paṇita rūpa*; for in Kauṭilya's day it was more usual to pay in kind than in cash. This prescription characteristically shows him as moved by practical, not idealistic, considerations. Theoretically an officer should have no truck with thieves, but in this case he is incapable of striking at them, and it is to the advantage of his people that at least he should put no obstacles in the way of their recovering their property in part. The author therefore allows the recognition in some degree of the *paṇahā* system, just as the first British officers in the Panjab found it necessary to make use of the *khoj* system, though it was not strictly enforceable by legal process.

In the second case, cattle have been stolen outside the jurisdiction and brought inside it, probably by thieves living within the jurisdiction. They are in the possession of the thieves, and the man who recovers them is said to "free" them. The difficulty of this sentence lies in the meaning of *ardham*; it cannot mean half the fee of the previous sentence, for that is not a fixed amount, but is subject to bargaining. I would therefore agree with the various translators that it signifies half the stolen herd. Why so large a reward? Possibly on the principle that the interests of outsiders or foreigners do not require much consideration at the hands of officials and that they may be legitimately made to pay through the nose for any services they receive. But there may be a worthier motive at work; for the freeing of the

cattle may lead to detecting and breaking up a gang of thieves, and anyone who facilitates this deserves a substantial reward, on a scale sufficient to attract informers.

If the interpretation I propose is correct, these two sentences, besides illustrating Kauṭilya's practical attitude to difficulties of administration and the value of modern experience in explaining the real purport of his text, possibly justify an inference of greater importance. For the fact that the custom and the word to denominate it can only be found, so far as I know, in Behar in modern times,[1] suggests that we may have here a piece of evidence to show that the *Arthaśāstra* was written by someone familiar with the conditions of that part of India; and I need hardly insist on the difficulty of finding traces in that work of a definite connection with any special area.

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THE MEANING OF THE TITLE *AL-MU'ALLAQĀT*

The meaning of the above title which Ḥammād gave to his famous collection of odes was forgotten, and so a meaning was given on the basis of the root *'allaqa* "to hang". It was said that they were poems which had gained the prize at the fair of 'Ukāẓ, and were afterwards written on pieces of fine Egyptian linen in letters of gold, and hung up on the door of the Ka'ba in Mecca. Thus the title means that they are the "Suspended" odes.

Different attempts have been made to explain the title, and there is general agreement that, whatever it does mean, it does not mean that they were suspended on the door of the Ka'ba. In 1823 Hengstenberg[2] disputed the genuineness

[1] I cannot trace the word in any dictionary of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, except the *Hindī Śabdasāgar*, though I should be surprised if it is not familiar enough to Nepalis and to dwellers in the eastern part of the United Provinces; nor does it appear in Wilson's glossary or in *Hobson-Jobson*. The India Office kindly searched at my request for early reports by English officers on the subject, but could find nothing to the point.

[2] *Amrulkeisi Moallakah*, pp. 2–4.

of that story, and argued that the collector of these poems gave them this title to indicate their outstanding nature.

Nöldeke has discussed the matter at greater length.[1] He has pointed out that Ḥammād collected these poems, and that therefore they did not form a collection which already existed under the title of *Al-Mu'allaqāt*. Aḥmad al-Naḥḥās (d. 338 or 337) was the first to say they were hung on the Ka'ba, and he did so without quoting any authority. Nöldeke also doubts the genuineness of the poetic contests on the ground that it would have been very difficult to find impartial judges. He concludes that we should keep to the meaning of the word "suspended", but interpret it as meaning that they are put in a place of honour because of their value. In his later article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[2] he still holds the same view.

Von Kremer[3] suggested that the title means poems copied from the dictation of *rāwīs*, but Ahlwardt[4] rejects this on linguistic grounds. He holds that it means poems which are favoured for their excellence. Brockelmann[5] says that they are poems raised to a place of honour for their preciousness.

Lane[6] takes a view more in keeping with the ideas of Muslim authors. He is prepared to admit that poems may have been suspended in the Ka'ba singly, either by a poet or by his admiring friends, and left there during the period when Mecca was thronged by pilgrims; but he prefers a theory which says that when a king was pleased with a poem, he said, "Suspend ye for us this," meaning that it should be put in his repository. Lyall[7] says "the name is most likely derived from the word *'ilk*, meaning 'a precious

[1] *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, pp. xvii ff.
[2] Art. *Mu'allaqāt*.
[3] *Altarabische Gedichte*, p. 11.
[4] *Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, p. 25.
[5] *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, i, pp. 17, 18.
[6] *Lexicon*, s.v., 'lq.
[7] *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. xlv.

thing, or a thing held in high estimation ', either because one 'hangs on' tenaciously to it, or because it is 'hung up' in a place of honour, or in a conspicuous place, in a treasury or storehouse ".

All these explanations are based on the idea of the poems being raised up in actual fact, or in the estimation of the people. But there is another meaning of the word, and it is one which Ḥammād would almost certainly know. The *Qur'ān* (iv, 128) says that men with more than one wife will not be able to show complete impartiality. They must not, however, turn from one completely and leave her *ka'l mu'allaqa* (like one in suspense). This is explained as meaning that she is neither possessed of a husband nor divorced.[1] She is still reckoned to be the wife of a certain man, but is not given the position she should have.

It has occurred to the writer that we may possibly find here a clue to the meaning of the title given by Ḥammād to his collection of poems. This anthology is the oldest we possess, and Ḥammād would realize that he was doing something unusual, for a poet's compositions would naturally be put together in his *dīwān*. So I would suggest that Ḥammād gave this title playfully, meaning to indicate that the poems are still attributed to their authors, but are not given their rightful position, which would be in the poet's *dīwān*.

Although Ḥammād was somewhat of a profligate, he was not altogether ignorant of the *Qur'ān*. A story told by Ibshīhī[2] would suggest that he knew a great deal about it, although it is said that he was not accustomed to recite it. This story declares that, on being commanded to read a portion of the *Qur'ān*, he purposely altered the meaning of passages by here and there reading the wrong letters, e.g. *tā'* for *bā'*, *zāy* for *rā'*, etc., such changes depending simply on the alteration of diacritical points. Ibshīhī remarks that only clever people could do this.

[1] Cf. Baiḍāwī, Commentary. [2] *Mustaṭraf*, i, p. 55.

It may be objected, however, that even allowing for Ḥammād being sufficiently familiar with the *Qur'ān* to choose a title from it, such a use of this phrase would be inappropriate. The people spoken of in *Qur*. iv, 128, are placed in an inferior position, while the poems are really placed in a superior position by being specially selected. In reply to this it may be said that when well-known phrases are used as titles, their users do not always take care to see that they are used in exactly the same sense as in the original context.

Phrases obviously taken from the *Qur'ān* are quite common as titles of books, although their meaning is not exactly the same as in the passages from which they are quoted. One meets the title *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* (xxxviii, 19) used for a grammar and for a book on the freedom of women. *Al-lu'lu' al-maknūn* (lvi, 22) is the title of a book on legal questions concerning marriage. *Majma' al Baḥrain* (xviii, 59) is the title of a book of *maqāmas* [1] and of a book on traditions of the *gharīb* class. Muhammad 'Abduh called his periodical *Al-'urwa al-wuthqā* (ii, 257, xxxi, 21). In none of these titles does the phrase used have exactly the same sense as it has in its original context, and yet there is sufficient connection to make its use allowable, or understandable. Even pious Muslims seem to feel no objection to such uses of phrases from their sacred book, and so it is perfectly possible that the explanation of Ḥammād's title for his collection of poems is to be found in the use of the word in the *Qur'ān*. It is a point which one cannot prove, just as one cannot prove the correctness of any of the other explanations; but the suggestion is made as a possible explanation of the name *Al-Mu'allaqāt*.

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[1] This book, as also the grammar called *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*, is by Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, who was a Christian, but as most of his readers were bound to be Muslims, it is not likely that he would choose a title calculated to offend them.

A BUSINESS RECORD OF THE DUNGI PERIOD

The tablet communicated here was purchased from a dealer, A. Graham, 21A Waterloo Street, Hove, Sussex. It is now in the possession of Miss Doreen de Labillière, Methley Rectory, Leeds.

It is from Umma **and of extraordinary interest, since** ***zíz-an*** is classified with *gig* (*kibatu*) "wheat". **This carries the problem of** identifying *zíz-an*, Syriac *zîznā*, Greek *zizanion*, Jewish-Aramaic *zônin*, *zônâįā*, Arabic *zawān*, *zuwwān*, *zuwān* a step farther. Syriac *zîznā* and the loan forms in Taunudic and late Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek are usually derived from a root *z-w-n* or *z-y-n*, whence a form **zanzan*, **zinzin* > *zîznā* is posited by analogy with *ḳêḳnā* > *ḳenḳenā*, etc., Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 728, and he will admit no connection with Babylonian *zizu* "emmer, *triticum dicoccum*" from Sumerian *ziz* = *kunāšu*, Syr. *kunnathā*, now proved to be "emmer, small spelt" by Egyptian archæology, Hrozný, *Getreide*, 26. This etymology was abandoned in the second edition of Brockelmann's *Syriac Lexicon*, where, following a suggestion by Jensen, *OLZ.*, 1924, 55, *zîznā* is now derived from a Babylonian *zizānu* = *râšu*, the latter word being identified with Hebrew ראֹשׁ *rô'š*, *rôš* "a poisonous plant". Jensen does not say that *zîznā* = *rôš*, but Brockelmann, *Lex.*[2], does so and quotes Jensen wrongly. Jensen's argument is based upon *zi-za-nu* gloss on [d]Kur, *CT.*, 25, 6, 13, and *ra-a-zu*, gloss on [d]*Kur*, *CT.*, 25, 6, 12. Also upon Kur (*zi-za-nu*) = ŠU., i.e. *zizānu*, *Ass.*, 523, iii, 25, and Kur (*ra-a-šu*) = *râšu*, ibid., 27. But there is no evidence that these two titles of a mountain god have anything to do with Sumerian *zíz-an* "a kind of emmer wheat" or with the Hebrew plant *rô'š*, *rôš*. Cf. N.Pr. *Ibi-zi-za-na*, where *zizana* is a divine name, Ranke, *Personal Names*, 90. The assumption that these two titles are plant names may or may not be true, but to regard this evidence as final is going too far for an entry in a standard dictionary.

The only apparently certain evidence for *zizānu* "a kind of

emmer wheat" is *a-na ziz-an-ni* "for emmer wheat", Clay, *PBS.*, ii², 116, 13, cited by Hrozný, *Getreide*, 63, note 1. It is, in fact, almost certain that a Babylonian word *zizânu*, *zizannu* for "emmer" did exist. Although Syriac *zîznâ* and Greek *zizanion* are definitely known to be *lolium* "darnel, tare", this must be due to a misunderstanding of the original Sumerian *ziz-an*, which is now proved to be a kind of wheat or, at least, an emmer wheat classified as wheat in the tablet here. Moreover, *ziz* "emmer" is constantly distinguished *ziz-an*, *ziz-an-na*, *ziz-a-na*, *ziz-a-an*, a fact already noted by Hrozný, *Getreide*, 75 9. He regards *ziz-an* as "shelled emmer", i.e. *ziz* with the husk removed. This is extremely improbable. *ziz-an* occurs in a list of grains as early as the Fara period, Deimel, *Fara*, ii, 20, Rev., v, 11, and is the only form used until the end of the Dungi period. In fact, *zizanna*, *ziz-a-an* are corrupt Babylonian forms. Hrozný cited a large number of texts where *ziz* is distinguished from *ziz-an*, *ziz-a-an*, although the syllabaries translate both by *kunâšu* "emmer, two-grained wheat". The text published here also distinguishes these two grains. See also Contenau, *Textes Cunéiformes* v, 5670, col. i, *ziz*, *gig* "wheat", and *ziz-an*, in the total all given as *še* "grain".

The Mischna, Kilaim, i, 1, says that *ḥiṭṭîm(n)* "wheat" and *zônin* are not accounted diverse kinds of grain, and the Talmud, Jerusalem Gemara, in its comment on Kilaim, i, 1, says that *zônin* is a kind of wheat. Maimonides, commenting on Kilaim, i, 1, also says that *zônîn* is a kind of wheat.[1] *Aruch*, or the Talmudic Lexicon of Nathan Romi, edited by Kohut, iii, 306*b*, says that the seeds of *kônin* are black, and that it is found among wheat. Kohut, ibid., suggests *nigella* "fennel". It is obvious that *ziz-an* must be the origin of all these Aramaic and Arabic words,[2] and of the Greek *zizanion*, although an Accadian loanword *zizânu* is not very satisfactorily documented.

[1] Danby, *The Mischna*, 28, translates "tares" after the usual tradition, and comments "bearded darnel".

[2] Löw, *Flora der Juden*, i, 729, cites also an Arabic form *ziwân*.

The word in Sumerian and Babylonian certainly did not mean "tare, darnel", however the Aramaic people may have used the loanword. It is clearly a kind of spelt wheat of inferior quality. The tablet is here translated with notes.

1. 38 royal *gur* + 210 *sila*, barley (*še*).
2. On the case tablet of Ur- ᵈŠara.[1]
3. 13 *gur* barley (*še*) on the tablet of Adda.
4. 2 *gur* emmer (zíz) [on the tablet] of Lù-bal-Sig.[2]
5. 8 *gur* + 30 *sila* barley meal (*zíd-še*).
6. on the tablet of Lù-inim-ni.
7. 8 *gur* + 192 *sila* barley (*še*).
8. grain of the soldiers;
9. the second year[3]; it has been placed on order for them.

[1] i.e. charged to the account of Ur-šara. *šag-dub* = *ṣipû*, letter in an envelope, *CT*. 12, 33, *K*. 2034, Rev. ii, 2. The witnesses to a *šag-dub-ba-ka* "case tablet", Genouillac, *Inventaire*, ii, 3532, 9. *gab-ri šag-dub-ba* "duplicate of a case tablet", 4710, Rev. 6. A letter is called *šag-dub-ba*, *YOS*. iv, 131. *šag-dub-áš-áš*, case tablets in pairs, duplicates, Hussey, *Harvard*, i, 2, Obv. i, 3; 3, i, 4; 15, Rev. viii, 3. dub = *ṣipû*, *CT*. 11, 29 A 40; 12, 14 A 4, after *lamû* "to enclose". *šag-dub* "the interior of a tablet". Two forms of this verb, *ṣapû*, *ṣâpu* "to cover, enclose, wrap" exist. *ṣipu*, *ṣi'pu*, letter, Arabic *ṣaḥifatun*, is derived from *ṣâpu*. *ṣapû* "to colour, overlay with paint" is the same verb. A secondary dissimilated form is *ṣabû* "to wrap", *Maḳlû*, vii, 58; Weissbach, *BA*., iv, 161–2. dup-pi *ṣa-pí-ti* "a case tablet", Ebeling, *KAJI*. 122, 4–5. Deimel, *Lexikon*, p. 748, 100, confused the noun *ṣipû* with the verb *ṣapû*.

[2] Sig = [illegible]. The same name is written with Sig = [illegible], Legrain, *Ur*, 24, 3; 25, 6. *Lù-bal-Sig*, Schneidner, *Drehem*, p. 30.

[3] *mu-ki-2-šú*. This expression *mu-ki-2-šú* is certainly equivalent to *mu-ki-4, 5, 6*, up to *31*, in the dates of Rim-Sin, "fourth, fifth, sixth, etc., year" (after he captured Isin), Thureau-Dangin, *Chronologie des Dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, 9–10. It is also equivalent to *mu-uš-sa ki-18 Isinna, (ki) bandib* "Eighteenth year *after* he captured Isin", and to *mu-uš-sa 5-kam* "Fifth year after", *SAK*. 237–8, and to *mu-4-kam-ma* "Fourth year (after)", *Chronologie*, 6, 62, etc. A similar formula is the double date *mu-8 ki 10 Isinna(ki) bandib* "The year eight (of Hammurabi ?) is (year) 10 of (i.e. after) the capture of Isin", *RA*. 27, 80. This same *ki* in the double date cited *RA*. 27, 81, *mu-ki-18-kam*. *mu-ki-4-kam*, therefore, has the same sense as *mu-4-kam* "fourth year", and *mu-uš-sa ki-4* "year after, fourth"; hence *mu-ki-4-šú* = *mu-ki-4-kam*. *ki-šú* must be a compound preposition and when used with numbers it has the force of an *ordinal*, precisely as *4-šú* < *4-kam*; a form, *ki-4-kam* is, therefore, a hybrid. *ki-2-šú*, Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents Pre-Sargoniques*, 220, i, 6; ii, 5, means "second time", i.e. *2-šú*. Apparently this form of the ordinal cannot be used for

10. 44 *gur* + 5 *sila* barley (*še*).
11. 3 *gur* + 180 *sila* emmer (*ziz*).
12. 2 *gur* + 170 *sila* wheat (*gig*).
13. 3 *gur* + 90 *sila* ziz-an,
14. 2 *gur* + 240 *sila* barley meal (*zid-še*).
15. 240 *sila* of dates (*zu-lum-ma*).
16. 30 *sila* fine meal (*zid-dub-dub-bu*).[1]
17. 1 royal *gur* of common beer (*kaš-du*)
18. on the tablet of Arad.
19. 55 *gur* + 90 *sila* of barley (*še*).
20. the regular allowance to Akalla.
21. Third year, first month.[2]
22. Total 162 *gur* + 167 *sila* barley (*še*).
23. Total 5 *gur* + 180 *sila* emmer (*ziz*).
24. Total 5 *gur* + 260 *sila* wheat (*gig*).
25. Seal of Ganam ba.[3] From Lugal-ezen
26. Arad has received
27. The fourth year.[4]

The total, line 22, is made up from:—

38 *gur*	210 *sila* (line 1).	Barley.
13 *gur*	(line 3).	Barley.
8 *gur*	192 *sila* (line 7).	Barley.
44 *gur*	5 *sila* (line 10).	Barley.
2 *gur*	240 *sila* (line 14).	Barley meal.
	30 *sila* (line 16).	Fine meal.
55 *gur*	90 *sila* (line 19).	Barley.
162 *gur*	167 *sila*, *še*.	

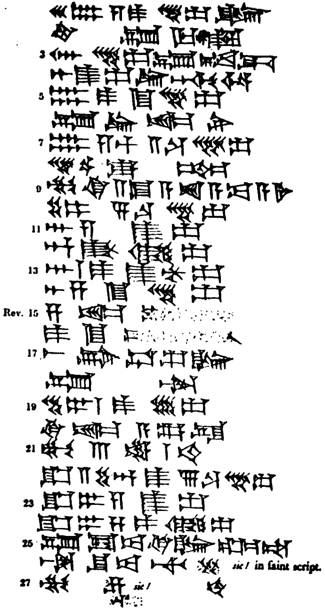
"first", *ki-1-ka* ... *ki-ka*, literally "at the place of" is rendered by *ana seri* in *ki-ma-ka* = *ana sêri-ni* "upon us", *PBS* x, 152, viii, 23. But *ki* in this expression for the ordinal seems to mean "time", *ki 2 ka* "for the second time", *second*, and then used for "second". But in line 21 *mu-3* "third year", and line 27, *mu 4 kam*, the ordinary ordinal.

[1] Thureau Dangin, RA. 3, 129, suggested *sitte* "sifted meal".

[2] This same method of numbering years by numbers at Umma occurs also on four early tablets from Umma, RA. 8, 158. See RA. 32, 138.

[3] This seal was probably impressed on the envelope now lost. Ganam is an uncertain identification. Cf. N.prs. *Lù-ka*, *Gemé-ka*, *Ḫa-ba*, *Ḫu-ba*.

[4] The scribe wrote 14 and then erased the figure 10.


3
5
7
9
11
13
Rev. 15
17
19
21
23
25
sic! in faint script.
27
sic!

Here *zid* "flour, meal" is included with *še* "barley", but 8 *gur* + 30 *sila*, charged to *Lù-inim-ni*, line 5, is ignored.

The total, line 23, is made up from :—

2 *gur*	(line 4). *ziz.*
3 *gur*	180 *sila* (line 11). *ziz.*
5 *gur*	180 *sila ziz.*

The total, line 24, is made up from :—

2 *gur*	170 *sila* (line 12). Wheat.
3 *gur*	90 *sila* (line 13). *ziz-an*
5 *gur*	260 *sila, gig*, wheat.

In the total no account is taken of dates (line 15) and of beer (line 17).

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A BRAHMĪ AKṢARA

The long and eagerly awaited Maralbashi Saka Texts have now been published by Professor Sten Konow, *Ein Neuer Saka-Dialekt, Sitzungsb. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissens.*, 1935. Only one who has seen something of the early stages in the decipherment can realize the difficulties successfully overcome. Though so modestly sent forth as but a first attempt, it is likely that most of the results will be final. It is a remarkable and admirable achievement.

Here I should like to discuss one point : the problem of the Brāhmī sign . Professor Konow, p. 776, remarks : "Siegling hat mir weiter mitgeteilt, dass Müller die beiden ersten Zeichen der Liste in uigurischen Brāhmītexten wiedergefunden hatte, wo sie für *z*, das stimmhafte *s*, bzw. für γ, die stimmhafte gutturale Frikative, stehen." Following this he has adopted γ to represent this Brāhmī sign.

There is here some misunderstanding. In 1904 H. Stönner, a Sanskritist and (as is evident from the article itself) unfamiliar with Turkish studies, published in the *Sitzungsb.*

of the Berlin Academy a paper entitled "Zentralasiatische Sanskrittexte in Brāhmischrift aus Idikutšahri, Chinesisch-Turkestan. I. Nebst Anhang: Uigurische Fragmente in Brāhmīschrift." In this paper he gave a photograph of a Turkish-Sanskrit bilingual in Brāhmī script, together with a list of words, Turkish and Sanskrit, partly from unpublished materials. The sign here discussed occurs in this list with palatal vowels five times and once with velar vowels. To anyone familiar with the elements of Turkology this gives at once two values for the sign: (1) palatal *g* (which may be indicated by *g*, *g'*, or *gy*); (2) velar *g* presumably fricative (which may be rendered by *γ*). Stönner states that F. W. K. Müller had established the phonetic value of the sign as *γa*, p. 1288, but this is probably a misunderstanding, and is contradicted by the material Stönner himself published, although his transcriptions show that he had not understood the Turkish system of consonants.

From the Turkish side, all that can be said is that the sign has two values (palatal and velar voiced guttural), and that there is a statistical (and hence uncertain) probability in favour of its palatal character.[1]

Linguistic evidence on the Iranian side is therefore all that remains to decide which of these two values, if either, the sign had in the Saka texts. Happily the evidence seems sufficient. Professor Konow by adopting the second value, the velar voiced fricative, obtained readings such as *suγandi*, *p^aγandi* 3 pl. pres. from the verbal bases *sauk-* "to burn" and *pak-* "to cook". Such forms are isolated in the whole range of Iranian languages and also of Old Indian. In all verbal bases with final guttural the palatalized *č ǰ* occur before the ending *-anti* of the 3 pl. In the closely related Khotanese Saka this is equally the case. The two verbs are here *sūjs-* and *pajs-*. Such forms lie, therefore, open to the gravest suspicion.

[1] It should be noted in Stönner's list that *tarqarqulsq* has the suffix *-qulsq*, which elsewhere is transcribed *-γuluγ*: palatal *-gülüg* (Bang, *Ung. Jb.*, vii, 37). But the suffix *-lüg* is in the Brāhmī script written with the sign under discussion. Hence we have the significant opposition *-luq* : *lüg*.

All, however, is right, if we adopt approximately the first Turkish value, palatal *g*. We may write *g*, according to the system used for the new signs in the "Tocharian" Brāhmī alphabet, as the voiced sound corresponding to *k̲*. We have then *pᵃgandi*, *sugandi*.

The sign occurs also in *aphugamᵉne* (a verb with final guttural), *bguli* (proper name), *biged-* and *ged-* (cf. Khot. Saka *pajiste* "he begged"), *bugā*, *cegutki* (proper name), *dzāgyā*, *ga*, *gā*, *gi*, *gu* (cf. Khot. Saka *ju*) *garagārūñca* (cf. Khot. Saka *jajarūṇa*), *gudnā*, *khagana* (cf. Khot. Saka *Khoca*, name of a people), *magi* (cf. Khot. Saka *māje*), *nargana* (proper name), *yānāgada* (proper name). From the proper names nothing can be deduced. The other words support this value of the sign, so far as corresponding forms are known.

The system of sounds is then as follows :—

Maralbashi Saka.	Khotanese Saka.
k k̲ c ch ts	*k ky c ch ts tc*
g g j dz[1]	*g gg gy j js*

[1] It is not possible in the documents to be certain of the existence of *gya*, owing to the similarity of such an akṣara to *sa*. It need, however, mean no more than a second way of expressing palatal *g*. If *wāśdyā* were read in place of *gyāśdyā*, it would be possible to compare Oss. *rāzdan* "nobleman", Av. *razdah*, Pašto *wāzda*, Parāči *yāzd* "fat", or to think of a short form of *Artavazd*.

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H. W. Bailey.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Depuis novembre 1934 le Conseil n'a pas subi de modifications et est ainsi composé : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), Tj. de Boer, J. L. Palache, Paul Scholten et A. J. Wensinck (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le Conseil espère pouvoir commencer sous peu l'impression d'un texte relatif à la géographie médiévale de l'Espagne préparé par M. E. Lévi—Provençal à Alger, ainsi que d'une étude sur les variantes textuelles du Coran par M. A. Jeffery au Caire. En outre des négotiations ont été ouvertes sur la publication d'un texte de Ibn al-Modjāwir par M. Löfgren à Upsala.

3. Des dix publications de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires qui sont mis en vente au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués :—

(i) *The Ḥamāsa of al-Buḥturī*, photographic reproduction of the MS. . . . with indexes by R. Geyer and D. S. Margoliouth (1909), *f.* 96 ; (ii) *The Fākhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama*, ed. C. A. Storey (1915), *f.* 6 ; (iii) I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte* (1916), *f.* 4.50 ; (iv) Bar Hebraeus's *Book of the Dove*, transl. by A. J. Wensinck (1919), *f.* 4.50 ; V. C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (1919), *f.* 6 ; (vi) I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920), *f.* 10 ; (vii) *Averroes, Die Epitome übersetzt* . . . von S. van den Bergh (1924), *f.* 7.50 ; (viii) Les *"livres des chevaux" de Hišam b. al-Kalbī et Muh. b. al-A'rābī*, publiés par G. Levi Della Vida (1927), *f.* 5 ; (ix) D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Hadramaut* (1932), *f.* 9 ; (x) *at-Tabarī, Kitāb Iḫtilāf al-Fuqahā'*, Das Konstantinopler Fragment herausgegeben von J. Schacht (1933), *f.* 4.80.

LEIDEN.

Novembre, 1935.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Die Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur. By Karl A. Scharbau. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über den frühindischen Theismus. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x + 176. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932. RM. 7, 50.

"He who wishes to renew in himself the world-picture of the Brāhmaṇas must be ready to give up his own mode of thought and must enter into this flowing, constantly changing, whirling mass of contradictions" (Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 96).

In considering Scharbau's book one naturally compares it with Oldenberg's. Each contains an overwhelming number of quotations (often in conflict with one another!) from texts of that continuous literature which reaches from the Ṛgveda to the time of the Upaniṣads. In both there are references to all theological prescientific science (Oldenberg's *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*) to problems of Substance, Unity, Time, Sacrifice, Magic, and so on. Scharbau is right in giving his work so large a frame, if he wishes to approach the problem of the Indian theory of Creation, a mystery which, to Western thinkers, seems to have no connection with this complex of physical categories.

Into this chaos of problems and unconnected utterances Scharbau tries to bring order by assuming the positive theological standpoint of the West: he accentuates sayings with a vague theistic tendency within the super-personal conceptions to which he refers.

Scharbau prefers those *early* Vedic and *late* Upaniṣadic quotations, in which "Kathenotheism" (constancy of attributes, but change of personality) or late "aparā vidyā" (personal mode of expression from pedagogic reasons) gives a kind of personal idea about the Divine. Here, too, however, as his citations show, the personal form (he) often yields

in the same sentence to the impersonal form (it). In India the attempt is made to grasp the Divine in one, or rather in a manifold personal form.

"The person is designated as the source of power, the sea of energy, the centre" (Scharbau, p. 9). God is, according to Scharbau, the primary conception which expresses itself now as something impersonal and dynamic, now as something personal (p. 10). To the author dynamism seems to be included in the *person*, whilst other interpreters (among them the reviewer, cf. my *Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens*, Tuebingen, 1930, *passim*, esp. p. 36 ff.) regard the personal representation as only one and not a recurring expression of the dynamical Divine. Indian mentality which leads us on and vanishes at the touch of our Western precision and definition, affords scope for both interpretations; the impersonal expression of the Divine in the powers of nature seems to me, however, to be the one emphasized by the Scriptures.

On the other hand, even when a text is confined chiefly to impersonal metaphors, the author seeks a personal definition of the Divine. So, on page 7, he gives a theistic interpretation of *Kā. Up.*, ii, 23 and believes he can bring in a divine-human primordial being wherever the vague conception of the Purusa is mentioned.

Even if we concede Scharbau's method of basing his arguments on the outer borders of the conception of the Divine and if we try to follow his accentuation of the personal form, we continually come up against attributes of this Creator-God, which are alien to the occidental conception of His personality. The creator is immanent in his creation, and the forms of creation are, as it were, materializations, congealments (mūrtis!) which come forth just as single streams of lava pour from a seething volcanic mass and become petrified in single forms (cf. the designation of single things as "prthak", "tanū", "mūrti"). Scharbau explains these emanations as being the conscious will of a creator (p. 107). As proof he adduces that (as in the Hymn of Creation, *R.V.*, x. 129) kāma, desire,

is the impulse of creation. But it is just here that the reference to the person of a conscious creator is noticeably wanting.

"In the beginning was the one thing" (neuter), says the hymn (*R.V.*, x, 129, 6); the gods are emphatically on *this* (empirical) side of creation, and at the conclusion doubt is expressed as to whether or not the world has ever been created, and whether he who watches over it (but has not made it!) can have knowledge of it. Thus the hymn itself suggests that the incentive for creation, kāma, is an unconscious creative force.

Again, all those accounts, in giving as motive of creation the will of the Ādipuruṣa, attribute to him qualities not in accordance with our Western ideas of person. The Indian God creates either to put an end to His isolation (loneliness), to dissect Himself into a plurality (Sch., p. 84), or He creates by emanating from Himself original matter and transforms this primordial substance back again into a personal puruṣa as the first creature.

Hardly in agreement with the occidental conception of a Creator is the Indian doctrine of the *limited* life of the Creator-god (Sch., p. 96) and the idea of creation treated by Scharbau (p. 170), the doctrine that the ruler and God creates out of—and beyond—Himself an idea, the law, which is binding not only for the creatures, but also for Him, the highest being of all.

The verbs, pregnant with meaning, which describe the act of Creation, do not suggest a conscious and deliberate creation by a personal God. Sṛj and its synonyms vi-skar, vy-ud-kram, syand, sam-pra-sru mean issuing of a fluid, an unconscious emanation. Note how this is opposed in Sānkhya-kārikā to the principle of barren intelligence (= God); there creation is only caused by the primeval matter. In Sānkhya-kārikā 57 this is illustrated by the metaphor of the unconscious forming of milk-secretion in the cow at the required time.

On p. 108 Scharbau shows how behind all polarity stands

as unity the vaguely designated figure of Prajāpati, and in the context he speaks of the highest being preserving its oneness yet undergoing constant and infinite transmutations. This could be called a "dynamic" rather than a "static" monism.

Scharbau speaks of the Original Spirit which is divided into the polarity of *God and* World and other antithesis.

Those who do not believe in the original central idea of a person in Indian cosmogonies can follow Scharbau unhesitatingly in these expositions.

He who considers, to a higher degree than Scharbau, the Cosmic, not the Personal, essential to ancient Indian thought, will welcome his final conception of the Ātmā-Puruṣa as a cosmic organism. This, however, seems to me even harder to reconcile with Scharbau's own theistic outlook.

The difficult occidental development of the term "Emanation" should not lead us to reject its applicability to the Indian doctrine of creation. If only we could learn to get over the narrow bounds of abstract definition and to fathom the sense of words, and if only we would endeavour not always to think in occidental categories when studying a culture of so different an origin as that of tropical India!

Not prejudiced in details, Scharbau proves his gift of interpretation in explaining the *single* terms of Indian religions and philosophy.

By giving prominence to the older meaning which in India never has been lost, and thus restoring the original concrete background to terms which seemingly have become abstract, Scharbau succeeds through casual hints in bringing us nearer to Indian fundamental ideas. One is glad to find "karma" translated by "action" and "movement" according to physics (cf., too, the later Vaiśeṣika-system). This I consider the leading idea, too, in the so-called "Ethics" of the fully developed Karma-doctrine. Farther on Scharbau points out (p. 46 f.) that the definition of the world is given by the term itself: jagat (continuously going). Further he succeeds

in showing that the Indian conception of time depends on the *primary* conception of *space* when he traces (p. 89 ff.) the time-terms " agre " and " murdhni " back to their origin in measures of space. Agra, the point, is the beginning, before Creation dissolves into broad multiformity.

It should be underlined that Scharbau on one occasion, in order not to give the idea of " Māyā " as " illusion ", connects the term with its verbal root *mā*, to measure. (Among other passages the Varuṇa-Hymn, *R.V.*, v, 85, 5, alludes to this.) One might perhaps go even farther than Scharbau (Māyā as illusion ! Scharbau, p. 157). Everything measurable (*māya*) is limited and bound to form (*mūrti*), inferior in time and value to the a-vyaktam, the unlimited original basis.

Another lucky perception of Scharbau that even goes beyond some special linguistic explanations: At the end of his numerous quotations and expositions Scharbau arrives (p. 174) at the important conclusion that the ancient Indian spirit (backed by visible nature) gives, along with apparently negative conceptions of age and death, a fundamentally *positive* outlook on the world as the given facts.

After expressing some doubts about Scharbau's general outlook and praising most of his detailed research, we may revert to Oldenberg's judgment quoted at the beginning: " We find in this Vedic literature (and also in the later ' systematic ' literature of India) a flowing together of our Western ideas, an interweaving of contradictions."

India forces us to give up our own modes of thought if we wish to get near her. All our Western ideas are found there, too, as possible, *partial* notions; regarded as *final* notions, none of these provides a serviceable common denominator.

We Western scholars may, from a pedagogic point of view, regret these difficulties. All our finest instruments, contrived for the dissection of Western thought, in this case, refuse to do their work.

927. BETTY HEIMANN.

Education in Ancient India. By A. S. Altekar. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 386. Benares: The Indian Book-Shop, 1934. Rs. 3.

In this volume, Dr. Altekar has collected all the references to Education and its effect on Indian character that he could find in ancient Hindu and Buddhist literature as well as in the writings of such authorities as Megasthenes (300 B.C.) and Al-Birūnī (A.D. 1000), so that his inquiry covers the whole of the Hindu period till A.D. 1200 when the Moslem conquest of Northern India was completed by the occupation of Bengal. This material he groups into ten chapters, the first five being concerned with the educational life, and curricula in force, during the period in question, while the remaining three chapters deal respectively with educational centres and institutions, such as Takshaśilā, Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, and Ennāyiram Temple College (in South Arcot); Society, State and Education; and Aims and Ideals, and Achievements and Failures.

Being essentially a source book, with a strong ritual interest, Dr. Altekar's volume is not very easy reading; but it will certainly be regarded as an indispensable reference book for anyone making a serious study of the subject. Those who prefer their information to be presented in more popular form, will probably find Professor N. N. Mazumder's *A History of Education in Ancient India*, Macmillan, Calcutta, 1917, more acceptable, especially as it also makes a very successful attempt to explain, in terms of modern pedagogic theory, the results of education, down to the close of the ancient period of India. In common with more recent authorities, such as the author of Part I of the *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Prof. Mazumder regards this period as ending with the anarchy that followed the death of Harsha in A.D. 647.

While in Europe the arts and sciences chiefly owed their development to the necessity of satisfying material needs, in India, where the climate and fertile soil have always made the struggle for existence an easy one, religion played the leading

part in developing a particular type of philosophy, law, and education. Dr. Altekar does not seem to have come across Professor Mazumder's book, though it was utilized by the writers of the Sadler Commission Report in 1918; but, on the whole, both he and Professor Mazumder arrive at the same conclusion, namely, that the—largely subconscious—aim of education in ancient India was the attainment of religious and social efficiency. In Dr. Altekar's words (p. 326) the main desiderata were "formation of character, building up of personality, preservation of ancient culture, and the training of the rising generation in the performance of social and religious duties"; but this, of course, chiefly applies to the "twice-born". Very little is heard of what the average lower-caste student was taught; and while Dr. Altekar may, or may not, be correct in estimating Brahmin literacy in the time of Aśoka (say, 250 B.C.) at 75 per cent, his argument that in A.D. 900 general literacy must have been at least 40 per cent seems based more on sentiment than on fact. This, however, will be readily forgiven in view of his otherwise strictly impartial attitude, as evidenced, for example, by his remark that the absence of any direction of education by Government in ancient India was not an unmixed blessing.

Neither of the authors are blind to certain defects in the ancient system, such as the tendency to hold reason at a discount; the absence of any attempt to inculcate patriotism, owing to the social structure in India—even up to the present day—being largely independent of Government; and the obvious tendency of ancient education to be deep and thorough, rather than broad and many sided: but both writers quite rightly feel that the soul-destroying system of examination that now hypnotizes the Indian mind might possibly be modified if Government would only actively encourage the establishment of more institutions like the *Gurukul* at Hardwar, in which ancient traditional practice is combined with the most modern scientific thought.

It will be understood from what has already been said that the

book under review and Professor Mazumdar's shorter summary are natural complements to one another, and that both of them should be read by any student who wishes to obtain a good idea of Education in Ancient India. It is, however, to be hoped, for the peace of mind of his readers, that, when a fresh edition of his book is called for, Dr. Altekar will make a vigorous effort to remove the many misprints that disfigure the first edition.

A. 125. H. E. STAPLETON.

THE CHINESE: THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE. Vol. I, pp. 506. Vol. II, pp. 389 and map. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. The D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1934. Price 30*s*.

In his preface to this work the author says that it has been done because there was need for it. Since Wells' *Middle Kingdom*, last revised in the year 1883, there has been no comprehensive work on China and the Chinese written in a European Language. Professor Latourette has endeavoured to make up this deficiency, and has produced in two volumes a work on China and the Chinese, their history and civilization, "bringing into its composition," as he himself says, "all our knowledge concerning them, both new and old." This is an ambitious attempt within the bounds of some nine hundred pages. The author admits that the sinologist will find little which he does not already know; yet for him it will be an accurate and useful summary. As for the general reader, he hopes the book will be of greater value, for an understanding of the matter dealt with is of prime importance both to Europe and America.

A reading of the first volume underlines this last statement: after dealing with geography and its influence on the Chinese, eight chapters are given to the history of China from the earliest times, followed by three chapters dealing with the transformation wrought by the impact of the Occident

upon the Orient in three phases, first, the wars and treaties with the Western Powers; second, the slow permeation of Western trade and ideas; and third, the crumbling of the structure of the old Chinese culture and indications of the new which is now beginning to take its place.

That astonishing changes have taken place within the last few years may be judged from the following account given in vol. i, p. 479:—

"... in Amoy, once called the dirtiest port in China, broad, concrete-paved, electric-lighted streets took the place of narrow, crooked, rough ones of other years, four- and five-storey ferro-concrete buildings were erected, a modern sewage system and a supply of running water were installed, parks and recreation centres replaced slums, and the surrounding hillsides were cleared of graves to be terraced for future residences for the living."

The second volume is divided up into eight interesting chapters, all of which could be developed into books themselves. They deal with the Chinese People, Government, Economic life, Religion, Social life, Art, Language and Literature, and the last chapter is a summary. As can be seen, it is quite impossible to deal with these subjects fully: and some readers may not find all they want. If, however, they wish to continue their research, each chapter is provided with a very useful bibliography. An index of all the Chinese names is given at the back of the book with their corresponding Chinese characters, and a general index completes the work.

A writer to the *China Repository* in the year 1849 [1] said that "In the religious, government and social habits of this people great revolutions must ere long take place. The night, the long night of ignorance is far spent. A new era has begun."

We in China to-day have lived to see the fulfilment of this prophecy. Professor Latourette says:

"It is a spectacle the like of which in sheer magnitude

[1] *China Repository*, vol. xviii, 1849, p. 48.

human beings have never before seen. The largest fairly homogeneous group of mankind is experiencing the most thorough-going and destructive revolution in its history."

A realization of this fact would lead to greater patience and better understanding among those who have dealings with China at the present juncture. Towards that understanding a book like this will help.

Readers will find themselves at variance with Professor Latourette in some matters. For instance, he says that Chinese drama never appears to have risen to the height reached by the drama of the ancient Greeks or the modern West. But this is surely judging the East by Western standards which do not maintain there. The extraordinary hold which the theatre has over the Chinese must be because they themselves see it, "not as the wise men of the East that some travellers would like to make them, nor as the bloodthirsty monsters of 'The Limehouse Nights', but as human beings neither white nor black"[1] If the Chinese theatre does this, it achieves what the West often fails to do.

In the section on architecture the chief characteristics are given, though one is omitted, and that is, its religious significance. Chinese architecture in the words of Dom Adelbert Gresnigt "is the silent language of the Chinese Soul".

Music, which plays so important a part in the life of the Chinese, is rather scantily treated and only gets nineteen lines to its credit.

However, so much industry has gone to the compilation of these two volumes that criticism is out of place. On p. 297, vol. ii, the printer has made some slips with the Chinese characters, which those who read Chinese will readily detect. This could be remedied in the next edition.

A. 307 J. H. PRATT.

[1] A. E. Zucker, *The Chinese Theatre*, Preface, p. xi, London, 1924.

Kitāb Ihtilāf al-Fuqahā'. Das Konstantinopler Fragment. Ed. by Joseph Schacht. Veröffentlichungen der "De Goeje Stiftung," No. X. 9½ × 6¼, pp. xxiv + 274. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933.

The importance of this work was clear from Kern's publication, in 1901, of sections of aṭ-Ṭabarī's famous *Iḫtilāf*, from the Cairo MS. But it is through Schacht's investigation that the great significance of the *Iḫtilāf*, of which the Constantinople fragment contains three complete books, can now be more fully appreciated.

The present fragments have been skilfully reproduced, the editorial work is ably performed, and we welcome the edition as a contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

The MS. bristles with difficulties, as, for example, the absence of pointing, but the editor, by an expert and masterly reconstruction, has succeeded in producing an accurate text. In the introduction stress is rightly laid on the authoritative contribution of the *Iḫtilāf* to the *Fiqh*-literature. And the discussion of aṭ-Ṭabarī's debt to his predecessors (Mālik, aš-Šāfi'ī, and others), a debt amply proved by the text, is of intrinsic value.

Schacht has carefully collated aṭ-Ṭabarī's text with those of the sources used by him, and numerous annotations show the extent and nature of their divergence. From an excellent summary in the introduction to this edition, we learn that much of these older legal authorities, not otherwise known, is preserved in the fragment under review. It is, therefore, a valuable supplement to such works as the *Kitāb al-umm* by aš-Šāfi'ī. Aṭ-Ṭabarī gives first the dictum on which all the *Fuqahā'* are unanimous (*Iǵma'*) concerning the one subject, then, the variations in their opinions on matters of detail (*iḫtilāf*). It is here that new material is gained; for while aṭ-Ṭabarī sometimes condenses his original source, his statements are sometimes fuller, being based on different recensions of the earlier works than those which have come

down to us. This observation applies not only to the *Kitāb al-umm* but also to the *Muwaṭṭa* of Mālik.

Although the deviations in these recensions are of special interest for students of Moslem Law and Institutions, historians of war in Islam and those interested in Arabic history and historians in general will certainly discover valuable material in the three books which our fragment comprises, viz. *Kitāb al-ǵihād* (pp. 1–198), *Kitāb al-ǵizya* (pp. 199–241), and *Kitāb*, resp. *Aḥkām al-muḥāribīn* (pp. 242–269). And they will be grateful to Herr Schacht for making this material available by his excellent publication.

A. 88. E. ROSENTHAL.

ABU'L-MAḤĀSIN IBN TAGHRI BIRDI'S ANNALS. Ed. WILLIAM POPPER. Vol. V, part 2, A.H. 778–792. California, 1933.

This volume is the continuation of Popper's reliable edition of ibn Taghri Birdi's chronicle *An-Nujūm az-zāhira fī mulūk miṣr wal-kāhira*. It includes the annals of four reigns of which Sultan Barqūq's appears to be the most important (pp. 362–446). This is preceded by the Sultanates of *al-Manṣūr 'Alī* and the first Sultanate of *aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ḥajjī* and followed by the second Sultanate of the latter.

Ibn Taghri Birdi's close connections with the court of Egypt in Barqūq's reign make his history of this period highly authoritative and original. Although he throws no new light on the established views on the history of Egypt at that time, he at least confirms many of the existing theories on this matter.

A. 96. E. ROSENTHAL.

THE MAIN CURRENTS OF MARATHA HISTORY. By G. S. SARDESAI. 9 × 5½, pp. vii + 232. Bombay: K. B. Dhavle, 1933. Rs. 2.

This is an excellent treatise on the rise and downfall of the Maratha Empire, if we accept the author's view that national histories must be written by men of the nation concerned and sympathetically. With this premise, a certain

degree of partiality on the part of the author may readily be excused. It may perhaps be doubted whether Shivaji's policy was so entirely based on religious motives as the author believes, or whether the whole object of the "Maharastra Dharma" as a whole, and in particular of the Peshwas, was the establishment of a Hindu, and not a Maratha, empire. If this were so, it was unfortunate that the Marathas should have aroused such hatred and hostility in the minds of their Hindu brethren, whether Rajputs, Jats, Sikhs, or Gujaratis. The author is also at pains to show that the Marathas were not the mere ravaging and destroying agency that is generally believed. He admits that they had not "the requisite inclination for building": but this alone would not account for the ruin they generally left in their train. Mr. Sardesai's estimate of the Peshwas, with the exception of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao II, is perhaps somewhat too kindly, and his comparison of Shahu Chhatrapati with Queen Victoria is not particularly happy. But he does not hesitate to emphasize the weaknesses in the Maratha character and policy. He ascribes the collapse of the Maratha power to the almost simultaneous death of several of their leading men at a time when the British personnel was exceptionally strong. Several of the Maratha leaders whom he names had, however, lost their authority before their death, and the easy establishment of British supremacy must be ascribed rather to the absence, pointed out by Munro, of system and subordination among the Marathas, and to a general lack of character. In a book based on lectures delivered to University students it is interesting to find the statement that "we eastern peoples are swayed in all our concerns, political, social, or any other by entirely individual influences. We have never been amenable to the discipline required for the healthy conduct of constitutional bodies. Even the word 'constitution' is foreign to us."

The book deserves praise as an honest attempt to find the key to the events in Maratha history.

A. 241. P. R. CADELL.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE MARATHA RAJ (1779–1818). Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar. No. 41. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 2 + 330 + xv. Bombay: Government Central Press. 1934. Rs. 4 as. 15 or 8s. 3d.

This volume of the series is less interesting than might have been expected, considering the momentous events of the period included. Doubtless this is largely due to the slack administration of the last Peshwa, Bajirao, affecting the keeping of the official records. There is practically no mention of the last Mysore war, or of the second Maratha war, which included Wellesley's campaign in the Deccan, and the fateful treaty of Bassein. While there are many papers of interest relating to the third and last Maratha war, there is no reference to the decisive battle of Kirkee, though there are several accounts of the severe action at Koregaon which is euphemistically represented as a Maratha success, in spite of the severe check there experienced by the Peshwa's forces. There is sufficient to show the disorder of Bajirao's administration, the disloyalty among his followers, the evil influence of the notorious Trimbakji Dengle, and the intrigues of the Peshwa with other powers against the British Government, which finally obliged the latter to take action. Among the early papers of the period of British administration, there is an amusing request from a Brahman for a reward of two lakhs on account of the success of his religious invocations for the success of the British in the war.

Although the volume is described as beginning from 1779, there is no document earlier than 1792. Colonel Briggs did not, as the Editor says, win the battle of Mahidpur, though he was present at it in a political capacity. The inscription placed by the British Government on the Tower of Victory erected at Koregaon is wrongly dated 1st January, 1818, the day of the action, though the Tower was not built till some years later. The Editor says that the list of the fallen Sepoys shows that most of them were Mahars. This is not literally correct. Out of the 49 names of the 2 1st Bombay

Infantry, which so greatly distinguished itself on that day, 16 appear to have been Marathas, 8 Rajputs and other Hindu castes, 3 Mussulmans, and 22 Parwáris or Mahars. The latter number is, however, sufficient to show what a gallant proportion of the men in the old Bombay regiments was supplied by that now despised race.

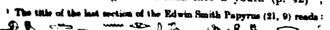
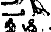
A. 286. P. R. CADELL.

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT: Being the relevant parts of the Tibb al-Rukka or Old Wives' Medicine of 'Abd al-Raḥman Ismā'īl. By JOHN WALKER. 8vo, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. London: Luzac and Co., 1934. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.

In 1565, John Hall, a member of the Worshipful Company of Chirurgeons, scandalized by the ignorance and audacity of the quacks which swarmed in his day, uttered a vigorous denunciation of these pseudo-practitioners in the well-known but rare tract entitled *An Historiall Expostulation against the Beastlye Abusers both of Chyrurgerie & Physyke in oure tyme, by John Halle.* Urged by the same motive, an Egyptian doctor, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendi Ismā'il, issued in 1892–4, in two small volumes published at Cairo, an exposure of the unscrupulous practices of the quacks among his own countrymen. His book is called *Tibb al-Rukka*, i.e. the Medicine of the Old Women, and we now have to welcome an English translation of this work, which in its original form is out of print and difficult of access even to those who can read Arabic, and is a book with seven seals to those who cannot. To his English version, Mr. Walker has given the title of *Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt*, but in the reviewer's opinion this appellation does not convey a true notion of its contents, for the practices it describes really partake far more of the nature of quackery, charlatanism and downright roguery than of folk-medicine. Real folk-medicine, grotesque and barbarous as it often is, differs in spirit wholly from the wilful roguery practised by impostors, for the efficacy of the former was believed in not only by the patient but also by the practitioner. The

knowledge of its votaries was usually derived in good faith from ancient and traditional sources, the compilers of which were for the most part honest in intention, albeit their remedies were futile and sometimes even harmful, though not maliciously so. When the French surgeon, A. B. Clot, was invited by Muhammed Ali to come from Marseilles to inaugurate a scientific medical service in Egypt, he perceived as no man ever had more reason to perceive, the magnitude of the task to which he had set his hand. He had to contend on the one hand with the innate fatalism of the Muslims, many of whom submitted to disease as the will of God without any thought of remedial measures; and, on the other hand, with the barbarous practices of the native quacks. To Clot-Bey Egypt owes an enormous debt, for he was the father of scientific medicine in that country, and it is therefore a little surprising to find no reference in Mr. Walker's preface to Clot-Bey's *Aperçu Générale sur l'Egypte* (2 vols., Paris, 1840), for in those volumes the medical aspect of modern Egypt receives full treatment.

The *Tibb al-Rukka* is an amazing record of human credulity and error, but the practices of the quacks which are described in its pages do not, for the most part, strike one as being of very ancient origin. Here and there, however, we find definite traces of the survival of ideas propounded in the medical and magical papyri of the Pharaonic age. Such, for instance, is the notion that disease was caused by possession, and the need for the forcible expulsion of the possessing spirit (p. 27); the string with seven knots (p. 43) is a feature of frequent occurrence in the papyri; the use of cabalistic gibberish (p. 38); the medicinal use of human milk (p. 46); preparations for transforming an old man into a youth (p. 42)[1];

[1] The title of the last section of the Edwin Smith Papyrus (21, 9) reads:

: "Beginning of the book for transforming (lit. 'making') an old man into a youth."

the frequent occurrence in spells of the stock phrase, "so and so, the son of so and so," (anc. Eg. 
); the use of the hoopoe in magic, especially for the treatment of the eyes; these and other items are clearly survivals from the time of the Pharaohs. The curious rite called "The Father of Feathers" (*Abu Rish*, p. 48), in which a child wears a long, pointed cap (*tarṭur*) adorned with feathers, suggests that the child may be impersonating a hoopoe, one of the native names of which is *Abu ṭarṭur*, "Father of a long, pointed cap," in reference to the appearance of the bird's erectile crest when lowered. The practice of cauterizing or scarifying the heads of children (p. 47), reminds us somewhat of the curious procedure described by Herodotus (iv, 187) as being practised by the nomadic Libyans.

This interesting volume deserves the careful study of all who concern themselves with primitive magic and medicine.

A. 375. WARREN R. DAWSON.

TELL EDFOU. By MAURICE ALLIOT. (Fouilles de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire. Rapports préliminaires. Tome neuvième, deuxième partie.) 13 × 10, pp. 48, pls. xl. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1933.

The excavations at Tell Edfou were continued during February and March, 1932, by the I.F.A.O. under the direction of M. Maurice Alliot. Two sites, a Roman and a Byzantine, were uncovered, whereby further portions of the ancient plan of Edfu could be reconstructed, and also an Old Kingdom mastaba was excavated, probably of the fifth dynasty, but difficult to date with certainty owing to the complete absence of any inscription.

In the Roman and Byzantine sites the construction of the houses was chiefly of brick, but stone was taken from earlier buildings, such as the mastabas of the ancient cemetery,

and used in the form of flagstones for use as thresholds in certain cases. Details of the construction of the Roman and Byzantine houses at Edfu are all duly tabulated, together with lists and photographs of the finds. There is nothing of any outstanding importance except perhaps a sealed jar containing five complete rolls of papyrus inscribed in a neat demotic handwriting. This has been placed in the Cairo Museum.

The mastaba is of somewhat unusual construction, not being dug below the level of the ground, and having the shafts perpendicular and leading only into the chambers contained in the block of masonry itself. It would appear that the outside was assembled first, the blocks which were to form the interior chambers having then been brought in through a gap, while the sarcophagus of the north chamber and the burial in the south chamber without sarcophagus were taken in through the shafts. The whole was filled up with sand. Although there are two false-door stelæ there is no inscription of any kind, but one of the stelæ has traces of whitewash, upon which presumably an inscription may once have been painted.

A few yards west of the mastaba were several primitive oval brick burials. The one excavated yielded nothing, so that no conclusion can yet be drawn as to their date. They are probably predynastic, although this type of burial is sometimes found down to the fourth and fifth dynasties (cf. Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*).

On page 5 "Fig. 7" should read "Fig. 6" and vice versa.

A 150

M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE MANUSCRITS. By PAUL SBATH. Tome iii: Catalogue. 9½ × 6½, pp. 146. Cairo: Naoum Georges Thamar.

The third volume of the catalogue of oriental manuscripts in the private library of Paul Sbath, Cairo, is now published. The first two volumes were reviewed in this Journal in October,

1931, p. 945. The latest volume contains only two hundred new names, but the descriptions are in many cases very complete. Thus, No. 1176, a history of the early Arabs based on two sources previously unknown, occupies eight pages. Of the two hundred manuscripts the greatest number are concerned with ecclesiastical matters, but Science and History are also well represented. With the exception of eleven all are written in Arabic. An appendix gives a list of the proper names mentioned in the notes which enables a reader rapidly to discover if there is anything of special interest to him.

A. 335. C. Elgood.

Les Peintures rupestres schématiques de la Péninsule Ibérique. Vol. iii. Sierra Morena. By Henri Breuil. 13 × 10, pp. 125, figs. 54, pls. 59. Lagny: Imprimerie de Lagny. 1933. Ouvrage publié sous les auspices et aux frais de la Fondation Singer-Polignac.

The third volume of this important work, which here deals with the rock paintings of the Sierra Morena, keeps up the high standard already reached in the previous volumes. The region is very rich in paintings and the reproductions are extremely well done. In the texts are groups of special forms arranged for comparison, while the plates at the end show the signs in their proper context as they occur in each locality. This is not a book to take up and lay down again; it is intended only for serious students and will repay long and careful study. The mass of material and the accuracy of the reproductions makes this, with its companion volumes, absolutely essential to all workers on the palæolithic periods; and not to them only, for no student of the development and decadence of art or of the beginnings of writing can afford to be without these volumes.

A. 336. M. A. Murray.

A History of Indian Literature. By Maurice Winternitz, Ph.D. Vol. i, pp. xx + 634, 1927. Vol. ii, pp. xx + 673. 1933. 9½ × 6½. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

The merits of Professor Winternitz' treatise on Indian Literature in its German original are well known, and a great service has been rendered to Indian studies by the English translations of vols. i and ii now presented to us. The author has not merely revised his work with much care, but he has in part re-written it and has made noteworthy additions, especially in the account of Jain literature in vol. ii which has been substantially extended and improved. He has, as usual, been most careful in his citation of the literature bearing on the issues discussed; and, though there are omissions, this is excusable, and all students will find much reason for gratitude for his labours, and will look forward to the rendering of vol. iii.

There are few matters on which Professor Winternitz has altered his opinion. Recent efforts to bring down the date of Vedic literature have left him unmoved, and he adheres to his belief in a date c. 1000 B.C. for Zoroaster; it is as well, however, to recognize the extreme difficulty of arriving at any definite date.[1] It would have been interesting to know what view he takes of the relations of Vedic civilization to that revealed at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. He remains faithful also to the view (i, 303) that Buddhism at about 500 B.C. absolutely presupposes the existence of the whole of Vedic literature. He is also convinced of the early date of the texts of the Tipitaka, and this leads him to assign (i, 517) the *Rāmāyana* to the 3rd century B.C., when Vālmiki composed it on the basis of early ballads, because the Buddhist texts ignore the epic. But this leaves unexplained the complete silence of the epic regarding Buddhism, for it is a *tour de force* to find evidence of its existence in the mildness and tranquillity of Rāma's character, and the epic was composed

[1] See Keith, *Journal of Indian Culture*, i, 103–6.

in the east, the home of Buddhism.[1] On the other hand, the author is rightly unwilling to accept the theory now held by Jacobi[2] that Mahāvīra died after the Buddha; if we abandon faith in that tradition, we undermine our faith in the possibility of any useful reconstruction of history. Nor is it desirable to accept (ii, 352, 630) the recent attempt to reduce Maitreya to humanity and authorship of texts, assigned to him doubtless *in majorem gloriam* of Asaṅga. Even Dr. Winternitz has had to leave unsettled the dates of Vasubandhu (ii, 632) and Dignāga (ii, 363). Two very useful notes on theories of Kaniṣka's date (ii, 611–14) and the nature of Pāli (ii, 601–5) have been added.

The translation by Mrs. S. Ketkar, aided for vol. ii by Miss Kohn, is adequate, the misprints more than sufficient.

A. 204. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

SUMERIAN EPICS AND MYTHS. By EDWARD CHIERA. University of Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. xv. Cuneiform Series: Vol. iii. 12 × 9¼, pp. vii + 111. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 22*s*. 6*d*.

SUMERIAN TEXTS OF VARIED CONTENTS. By EDWARD CHIERA. University of Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. xvi. Cuneiform Series: Vol. iv. 12 × 9¼, pp. vii + 109. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 22*s*. 6*d*.

These volumes contain a large number of texts from the Nippur excavations, now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, copied by the late Professor Chiera and published with only short notes on the series or class of texts to which they belong, and some details of duplicates known to the editor. These two handsome volumes contain practically all that we can now expect from the scholar who spent long years collecting and sorting Sumerian religious

[1] Cf. Keith, *JRAS*., 1915, pp. 318 ff.

[2] *SBA*., 1930, pp. 558 ff. For a criticism see Keith, *BSOS*., vi, 859 ff.

texts; a few notes recently published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society by Dr. Kramer add all that seems to remain of the late Professor's notes. His premature death has in fact robbed us of the work he was most fitted to produce, a transliteration and provisional translation of this mass of literature. Individual students must now digest the texts as best they may, without the guidance as to readings he could have given. Chiera's copies are clear, a great blessing to sore eyes, and his name guarantees accuracy; but few will be able to use these volumes till reliable transliterations and editions with commentaries are published.

The most notable texts are the epics in the first volume—Lugalbanda and Enmerkar, Gilgamesh, *lugal-e ud me-lam-bi nir-gal*, *an-gim-dim-ma*, Ishtar and others. The hymns and lamentations are of less interest, and the *e-dub-ba* series is increased only by fragments. All the texts seem to be of the same date, the product of the same school of scribes, certainly not earlier than the time of the Larsa dynasty and possibly later. Some of them, e.g., the Gilgamesh Epic, pose a problem easier to settle by summary statement than by careful examination. I mean the problem as to whether the Sumerian is the original, and the Akkadian a translation, or *vice versa*. The variants of the Sumerian versions show an extensive use of homophones of special interest; translators will have to treat the writing as phonetic, and not be misled by the sign used. The Sumerian version proves that the Assyrian version was severely compressed, but that does not necessarily prove the Sumerian version to be the original form. Chiera has noted the historical importance of the mention of Agga, the last king of the first dynasty of Kish; this is a contribution to a still unsettled question of great interest, namely: Is the Gilgamesh Epic to be classed as legend or myth? The text remains extremely difficult but some points are definitely cleared up. Thus the reading of the first line in Mr. Gadd's text from Ur is settled by Chiera's text, No. 22, 1-2.

mu 5-am mu . . . . .-ni la dar
mu-ba erim kuš-bi la ba-dar-dar

i.e. "that year no enemy (!) cut its bark."

Incidentally these lines also show that the negative NU is to be read phonetically *la*, at least in these texts; theories of phonetic change to account for other instances of *la* for NU will not do. But I hardly expect this plain inference will be accepted.

It is fitting in this place to express sympathy with Professor Breasted and his colleagues at the Oriental Institute in the loss of an active and able scholar who worked so energetically among them, and admiration of the work he executed during years of study at the museum in Philadelphia.

A. 264, 265. SIDNEY SMITH.

NEUBABYLONISCHE RECHTS- UND VERWALTUNGSURKUNDEN ÜBERSETZT UND ERLÄUTERT VON M. SAN NICOLO UND A. UNGNAD. Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Berliner Museen aus Vorhellenistisches Zeit. Band I, Heft 4, pp. 481–640. 9 × 6, pp. 160. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1934. Mks. 18.

Professor San Nicolo is now continuing alone the arduous task of translating and arranging under suitable categories the New Babylonian business documents in the Berlin Museum. The present fascicule contains the remainder of the "receipts of various contents" together with "leases of temple prebends", "contracts for labour," "partnership," "business documents of miscellaneous contents," "documents dealing with legal cases," "witnessed declarations and legal agreements," "administrative documents and deeds connected with agriculture." To each section there is a brief introduction, and short notes on the language are appended to each document.

This much neglected and rather intractable material is everywhere illuminated by Professor San Nicolo's profound knowledge of Babylonian law, and a perusal of his work is

essential for any student of Babylonian manners and customs. In certain cases it is permissible to differ from the translations. Thus No. 622 deals with a delivery of chopped straw, *tibnu*, for brick-making, while No. 624 mentions *kissat* for a similar purpose, because in this case the material was not yet chopped for use as a *dégraissant*, and the argument as to the meaning of *kissat* fails. No. 624 contains technical terms of brick-making, *kasu* being used of bonding and *pihu* of pegging in. The word *pappasu* in Nos. 608 and 735, when compared with the passage in King, *Chronicles* II, p. 13, l. 11, surely means "lees", "dregs" whether of beer, wine, or dyes. No. 635 deals with the construction of a bund, see de Genouillac in *R.A.*, XXII, 81.

Some day we may hope that Professor San Nicolo will give us a general exposition based on these documents. Meanwhile we are grateful to him for this instructive work.

A 245 SIDNEY SMITH.

ANQUETIL-DUPERRON, Sa vie, par RAYMOND SCHWAB. Usages des Parses. Deux Essais du DR. J. J. MODI. Préface de SYLVAIN LÉVI. 9 × 5½, pp. viii + 240. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1934.

M. Schwab, attracted by the romantic story of Anquetil du Perron, has essayed to write a lively and sympathetic account of his life. This story, like those of others who have struggled against difficulties for the sake of acquiring knowledge of the East has had probably a strong appeal to many, and certainly so to the reviewer. And if, unlike E. G. Browne, one sees in the Avesta a storehouse of fascinating texts, at times regrettably brief, or obscurely veiled for us, yet a mine not yet exhausted, then indeed one can admit that Anquetil did not labour in vain. The variety of the Avesta is surprising. Though religious in origin, we yet see in it much beyond the religious life—hints of popular ideas, the conception of a mansion in the house of Mithra, of a queen's

adornment in the description of Anâhita, of mountains and lakes in the countries upon which Mithra looks down, of the flight of birds and flowing of waters in the litany, of wandering atharvans in far countries, beside the solution of moral problems, offers of salvation at the Frashakṛti, and an early and therefore important type of liturgy.

Under M. Schwab's pen Anquetil lives again, and the passages from his own works reveal his scientific spirit. A criticism of part of Anquetil's narration, which throws light upon some of the circumstances, is added, from the hand of the late Sir Jivanji Modi.

A. 332. H. W. BAILEY.

SAKISCHE HANDSCHRIFTPROBEN. Als Privatdruck Herausgegeben von MANU LEUMANN. $12 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 27, pls. 17. Zürich: J. G. Augustin, Hamburg, 1934.

In his brief preface, the editor informs us that his father, the late Professor Ernst Leumann, had planned to publish photographs of part at least of the excellent Leningrad Manuscript, of which he had prepared transcription and translation, and to which he had given the designation E. This work was recently published by the care of his son as *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus* in two volumes.

The present book contains excellent reproductions of folios of this MS. The script is most carefully executed. A manuscript with the same form of script is that designated Kha. 1, 13 in the India Office, London (unhappily all the folios are damaged), and that designated Or. 9609 in the British Museum which also has suffered from the rubbing of the surface. The excellence of E makes it easily comprehensible that the transcription could be in all cases quite exact and unambiguous. It is interesting to have the folio containing the cursive subscript (p. 26) which has not yet been fully read. A list of akṣaras and transcriptions are attached. There is a careful analysis of the script.

We have had earlier the facsimiles, small but quite clear, of the Vajracchedikā and Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra in Hoernle, Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature, and of folios and rolls in the books of Aurel Stein, besides the less extensive publications of Sten Konow and Huntingdon. The present facsimiles are a welcome addition.

A. 272. H. W. BAILEY.

SUKHAN WA-SUKHANWARĀN. By ĀGĀ BADÍ'U 'l-Zamán Bishrúya-i Khurásání. 8½ × 6, vol. i, pp. 390. Vol. ii, part I, pp. 427. Teheran: Ministry of Education, 1930-33.

This learned and scholarly work, to be completed in four volumes, is an anthology, and also to some extent a history of Persian poetry from the beginning of the third to the end of the sixth century of the Hijra (A.D. 800-1200). The first volume deals with forty-four poets of Khurásán and Transoxania in chronological order; vol. ii, part i, with only eleven of 'Iráq and Ádharbáyaján, including Fakhru'ddín of Gurgán, Asadi of Ṭus, and Kháqání: evidently the territorial labels are not always *au pied de la lettre*. Each poet is introduced by a biographical and critical study and the text is furnished with notes. The editor has drawn information, not merely from *tadhkiras*, but from long study of the poets themselves; and his familiarity with the originals has enabled him to make a really important contribution to Persian literary history and criticism. He acknowledges the help given him by Mírzá Muhammad Khán Qazwini, especially in connection with the Báwand dynasty and 'Imádu 'l-Dawla an obscure princeling from whom the poet 'Imádí derived his pen-name. As regards the choice of extracts, it appears that the work belongs to a series planned by a Commission under the auspices of the Persian Ministry of Education, and that its contents are selected with a view to instruction rather than interest and variety. Now moral wisdom is a good thing, but one can have too much of it, e.g. sixty pages

from the *Shâhnâma* alone. Monotony does not improve the mind. This florilegium, I think, might have been made more readable, attractive, and representative without any sacrifice of ideals. For students of Persian literature, however, it is invaluable owing to the editor's fine taste and the wide range of his erudition, though occasionally his judgment is at fault, e.g. when he tries to show that Firdausí was an expert in Qur'ánic idiom and Arabic poetry (vol. i, p. 33). I have noticed very few mistakes. عمّاره (vol. i, p. 26) should be عُماره, and رسیلی کردن (ibid., p. 298, l. 2) is wrongly explained; the phrase means "to act as musical accompanist to anyone" (cf. *Mathnawí*, i, 1917, iii, 1473, 3225).

A. 144, 145. R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE PAHLAVI CODEX, K 35. Published in facsimile with an Introduction by ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. 13 × 9, part i, pp. 7 + 265; part ii, pp. 8 + 98. Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis, vols. iii and iv. Copenhagen: University Library of Copenhagen, 1934.

Nearly a century has passed since N. Z. Westergaard brought home from Kirmán the Pahlavi manuscript which on the day of his death he presented to the Copenhagen University Library and which Professor Christensen has now reproduced in an admirable facsimile.

Probably written in A.D. 1572, it contains a group of five texts, viz., Pahlavi Rivāyāt I and II, Dādastān ē dēnīγ, the Epistles of Manuschihr, and the Selections of Zāδ-sparam. Some of these have been edited at Bombay and translated by E. W. West, in his Pahlavi Texts (*Sacred Books of the East*, vols. v, xviii, and xxvii).

A. 273. R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE LADY OF THE LONG WALL. A Ku Shih or Drum Song of China. Translated by GENEVIEVE WIMSATT and GEOFFREY CHEN. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 84, illus. 4. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 18s. 6d.

The Lady of the Long Wall, of unknown authorship, though reminiscent of the Ballad of *Mu Lan* or of the *Song of Unending Sorrow*, is nevertheless said in the introduction to be a "Drum Song" of popular origin. Encyclopædias and histories of Chinese literature seem to be silent on the subject of drum songs, and we should have been grateful to the translators of this, the first example to appear in English, for some further details concerning them.

We know that Chinese poets, including those of the T'ang dynasty, wrote many poems intended to be set to music and sung by the singing-girls of their day at social entertainments. One supposes that this must have been the purpose of Po Chü-I's poem, for it is on record that a T'ang dynasty singing-girl boasted of her talents by saying, "I can sing Master Po's *Song of Unending Sorrow*." and, according to the Chinese scholar and critic, Mr. Kiang Kang-Hu, "girls on the river at Nanking are still singing this song in flower-boats and taverns." But unlike these literary poems, *The Lady of the Long Wall* is said to be a "ballad of the lower classes", ignored by scholars, and never set down in writing until a few years ago. It appears, therefore, to be a scrap of the traditional material of the story-tellers and singers of China (much of which has been transmitted orally for centuries), but which, without much fuller information, cannot be judged as an example of its class.

The story, which runs on simply to its appointed end as befits a tale told or sung to an illiterate audience, is the pathetic history of a lady who followed her scholar-husband when he was toiling as a conscript on the Great Wall of China. The translation, though perhaps too literary to maintain the essentially popular character of the piece, is

nevertheless excellent in that it seems to succeed in transferring into English much which one guesses (in the absence of the Chinese poem) to have been the spirit of the original. The book is attractively produced and illustrated, and is a pleasing addition to the growing list of translations of Chinese poetry. E. EDWARDS.

·A 324.

PSEUDO-MAGRĪṬĪ: DAS ZIEL DES WEISEN. I. ARABISCHER TEXT. Herausgegeben von HELLMUT RITTER. Studien der Bibliothek Warburg. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 2 + 416. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1933.

Those of us who attended the Hamburg *Orientalistentag* will remember the remarkable lecture delivered on that occasion by the late Dr. Warburg, tracing the history of the medieval magical work known as *Picatrix*, a barbarous word in which it is not easy to detect the name Hippocrates, on whom the doctrine which it contains was fathered. He discovered the original of this work in an Arabic treatise also, it would seem, improperly attributed to the Spanish mathematician Abu'l-Qasim Maslamah b. Aḥmad, of Madrid. This text has now been issued, and a German translation with Prolegomena promised; the series in which it appears is called *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, and contains a considerable number of volumes. The editor has used for his work several MSS. in Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin. The treatise is more pretentious than the far bulkier one of al-Buni, called *Shams al-Ma'ārif* (lithographed, Cairo, A.H. 1322), but contains fewer magical figures; the spells are largely astrological in both. The editor seems to have some doubts as to the suitability of the work for publication, as he says *Welche Gründe A. Warburg veranlassten auf die Herausgabe dieses Textes Wert zu legen, ist hier nicht zu erörtern.* The only solution of this puzzle which suggests itself is that scholars of high repute have done the like, as is attested by a whole

library of magical papyri, and treatises on Babylonian and other varieties of the black art. It is clear that Herr Ritter has spared no pains to make his achievement scholarly.

A. 14. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LE MARIAGE CHEZ LES MUSULMANS EN SYRIE : ÉTUDE DE SOCIOLOGIE. Par KHALED CHATILA. 10 × 6½, pp. 303. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 40.

The contents of this book are of three sorts : speculations on the origin and development of certain institutions connected with matrimony ; accounts of current practice among Syrian communities ; and suggestions for reform. Of the first that which occupies most space is an endeavour to demonstrate that the marriage-gift enjoined by Islamic law and probably a survival from pre-Islamic custom was never payment for a bride, but merely a gift, of which the purpose was to confer honour and prestige on the bridegroom, to invest him with authority over the bride (as the recipient of a gift), and finally to serve as a bond between the parties at a time when it was not understood that a contract could be rendered binding by mere consent of the parties to it. The evidence adduced consists in quotations from " pre-Islamic literature ", i.e. verses ascribed to poets of pagan times in which the bestowal of gifts is eulogized. It rather looks as if the writer had forgotten the observation of the Qur'an that poets " say what they do not do ".

The information given about current practice in the different strata of society and different regions is of interest and value, though less detailed than might have been wished, and often similar to what might have been surmised. Thus it might have been guessed that where Western ideas have been gaining ground polygamy is unfashionable, and something resembling European courtship is taking the place of more primitive methods of bringing the parties together. The writer offers suggestions for still further restricting the

possibility of polygamy and facility of divorce. He finds the practice of demanding exorbitant wedding-gifts disastrous, and would favour the abolition of the gift altogether. He would also abrogate the doctrine that foster-relationship is an impediment equal to blood-relationship.

A. 297. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

INTRODUCTION A L'ÉTUDE DE L'HABITATION SUR PILOTIS DANS L'ASIE DU SUD-EST. By NGUYEN VAN HUYEN. Austro-Asiatica: Documents et Travaux, tome iv. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxiii + 222, pls. xvi, figs. 87, map 1, comparative table 1. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 100.

This is a detailed comparative account of the habitations on posts or piles typical of Indo-China and Indonesia, from the Naga Hills to the islands just west of New Guinea. The number of illustrations indicated above gives an idea of the many varieties of this type of structure which the author has described and compared, and of which his comparative table gives a succinct résumé. After pointing out their diversities, he draws attention to the elements that are common to these varieties and in a short final chapter touches briefly on the reasons for the existence of such habitations as these. According to him they are partly natural, due to geographical environment (such as hill slopes, marshy land, or even water), the existence of dangerous wild animals, convenience, etc., and partly religious and social. The work contains a useful bibliography as well as an index, etc., and the plates are good. It is a valuable monograph on the subject.

A. 293. C. O. BLAGDEN.

SITTE UND RECHT IN NEPAL. VON LEONHARD ADAM. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 269, pl. 1. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1934.

It has been the policy of Nepal to keep itself apart and since the days of that great authority Brian Houghton Hodgson not very much has been written about it until comparatively

recently. In his introduction the author of this monograph mentions several modern works and also some older ones, but he gathered his own information from Nepalese prisoners of war interned in Rumania. The conditions of the internment camp were evidently neither irksome nor depressing, and the nine informants, whose statements constitute the main bulk of the work, gave their evidence freely and in considerable detail. Communication was carried on through English-speaking interpreters, which no doubt accounts for a few specimens of unidiomatic English occurring in the book. The wide subject under inquiry was customary law and customs in general, including social and economic environment, castes (or tribes), the family, patriarchal authority, marriage, divorce and sexual relations generally, inheritance, disposal of the dead, degrees of relationship together with their appropriate modes of address, adoption, food taboos, slavery, the law of property (particularly in land), sale, barter, hire, loan, guarantee, criminal law with special references to murder, wounding, theft, adultery, as well as a good many other matters, for example the ceremonies connected with some of these incidents of life.

The most striking points, perhaps, are the remarriage of widows and the existence of a fictitious brotherhood (and sometimes even sisterhood), made by mutual agreement between the parties, accompanied by a solemn ceremony in which Brahmans play a leading part (as they also do in other ceremonies). The author's informants belonged to a number of different castes (or tribes) and some of them gave lists indicating the social precedence of these castes. In principle, they are endogamous and are, at any rate in some cases, subdivided into exogamous clans. Marriage with a woman of lower caste is, however, possible but results in the sinking of the husband into a lower caste than the one in which he was born.

The work has appeared as a part of *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Band 49, Heft I/II. It embodies

a conscientiously conducted piece of research work and deserves careful study. A list of Oriental terms and an index are appended.

A. 261. C. O. BLAGDEN.

LA ESPLORAZIONE DELLA REGIONE FRA L'HIMÀLAJA OCCIDENTALE E IL CARACORÙM. By GIOTTO DAINELLI. Relazione Scientifiche della Spedizione Italiana De Filippi nell'Himàlaia, Caracorùm e Turchestàn Cinese (1913–14), Ser. II, Vol. 1. 12 × 9, pp. xi + 434, pls. 46, figs. 80, map (4 sheets) in pocket. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1934.

Professor G. Dainelli joined the De Filippi scientific expedition of 1913–14 to the Karakorum region as geologist, but the enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to the work and the subsequent record thereof has borne fruit in many spheres besides that of geology. In this volume he gives us a remarkably complete survey of the work of all the explorers and travellers in that region from the time of Fr. A. de Andrade (1626) down to the third Visser expedition (1929–30) and his own expedition of 1930 to the Siachen glacier. The exhaustive character of this compilation, the care with which the routes followed have been marked on separate sketch-maps (no less than eighty of these have been prepared), and the skill with which each traveller's contribution to our knowledge has been concisely stated and appraised deserve unstinted praise. It is gratifying to find the work of Moorcroft, Godwin Austen, and Stoliczka duly appreciated. A valuable result of Prof. Dainelli's manifold activities has been the preparation of an admirable map of the region concerned (roughly the area between 32 and 37 N. and 74 and 80 E.), reproduced on a reduced scale of 1 : 750,000 in this volume. As this had been prepared about 1920, an additional map has been drawn (Pl. XLI) incorporating topographical work done by subsequent explorers (e.g., Visser, Morris, Mason, and the Duke of Spoleto) more particularly in the area immediately to

the north of the main chain and in the upper Shaksgam valley. The question of the transliteration of vernacular names has not, we fear, been finally solved.

Many excellent views of the magnificent scenery of this fascinating region add pictorial charm to this important monograph.

A. 304. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

BULLETINS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR PERSIAN ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY, Nos. 3, 5 and 6. 10 × 7, pp. 23, 31 and 12, pls., plans and figs. New York: American Institute, 1932–4.

These little bulletins contain brief but well illustrated accounts of the various activities of the Institute, including the comprehensive programmes that have been drawn up for work in different fields of research, survey, and exploration. Besides shorter notes on other sites and projects, the March 1932 issue has a report by Dr. F. R. Wulsin on the results of the excavations carried out in 1931 at the mounds of Tureng Tepe, near Asterābād, which revealed a Bronze Age culture of much interest and indicated that deeper strata would probably yield remains of much earlier date. The June 1933 number contains short notes on Professor E. Herzfeld's now famous discoveries at and near Persepolis and on Dr. E. F. Schmidt's successful explorations at Damghan and Tepe Hissar.

A. 305 C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

VIJAYANAGARA: ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE. By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA. Bulletins of the Department of Indian History and Archæology, No. 4. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. iv + 191, maps 2. Madras: Madras University, 1933. 3s.

Basing his arguments exclusively on contemporary inscriptions and literature, Mr. Ramanayya develops several theories regarding the origin of the city and the empire of Vijayanagara.

that differ materially from the views of previous historians. For instance, he rejects *in toto* Firishta's ascription of the foundation of the city to Ballāḷa III, as well as the suggestion of some modern writers that the founders of the city had been employed by Ballāḷa to defend his northern frontier, holding that the available evidence shows that the site was not within the Hoysala dominions. He contends that the founders of Vijayanagara kingdom came from the Telugu country; that Harihara, son of Saṅgama, was related to Kanya Nāyak of Warangal; that he embraced Islām and was appointed by Muḥammad bin Tughluq to be Governor of the kingdom of Kampila, which he ruled at first from Kuñjarakona and later from Vijayanagara; that afterwards he reverted to Hinduism, stirred up revolt against the Sulṭān, and became independent; and that accordingly the territory over which Vīra Kampiladeva ruled should be regarded as the nucleus around which the empire of Vijayanagara grew up.

The inscriptional evidence cited has been usefully tabulated, and the arguments concisely and clearly expressed. Though certain of his conclusions be controversial, the author has adopted sound lines of research.

A. 175. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

SIEGEL U. CHARAKTERE IN DER MUHAMMEDANISCHEN ZAUBEREI. By Dr. H. A. WINKLER. 10 × 6½, pp. 187. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1930.

The author of this book is endeavouring to explain the so-called seven Seals of Solomon, magic signs considered by the Arabs to be of the highest potency. Among the Arabs the row of seven signs is ascribed, in the first place to an apocryphal story of Ali, and afterwards they form part of the old magical signs used for the same purpose. The author has made himself fully acquainted with the Arabic documents which form a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of this literature. The text is of a comparatively late date, thirteenth or fourteenth

century or even later. There is little proof of the antiquity of these signs. There is no doubt, however, that in Arabic literature, as in the other magic literature, there are a large number of mystical signs to which an extraordinary prophylactic power is assigned. Among these seven signs there are three at least which seem to be Arabic letters, and the author endeavours to explain the origin of all the seven signs. It is unfortunate that the author has not consulted older documents, although he refers from time to time to some papyri, nor that rich literature of mystical signs and especially the numerous mystical alphabets also found in Arabic MSS. no less than in Greek and above all in Hebrew. The seven seals, as they occur in Arabic, are already a very late development, formed from older signs which had a very definite meaning. Many of these ancient signs are borrowed elements from old alphabets the use of which has disappeared. One has only to look at Hammer's collection of ancient alphabets to find striking parallels. These alphabets have often been used as initials to words which form catchwords for whole verses as was shown by me in my study on the Samaritan Phylacteries (*Studies and Texts*, p. 387 ff.). Thereafter these become meaningless symbols and Winkler's endeavour to explain two or three of them is far fetched and fantastic. In the case of four of them at least he declares himself unable to offer any explanation. The appearance of these Arabic letters is evidently due to some misunderstanding of the older scribes who saw some similarity between the symbol and the letter and substituted the latter for the former.

As far as the so-called "seals" are concerned it is not a question merely, as Winkler says, of a contract which is "sealed", but an impression or signature by which the identity of the man who impressed that seal is established. Angels and demons have their alphabets which have a mysterious value and the magician who is able to read or copy that signature may obtain power over them. The author would have done well if he had consulted many other works

containing such conjurations, names of angels and demons with their signatures, such as Claviculum Solomonis, Höllenzwang, Faust, and the writing of Paracelsus and other MSS. and books of a similar kind which are easily accessible.

As for the magical squares the author might have found their origin in the Abacus and the mystical value attached by the Pythagorean school to numbers and figures. Of this he seems quite oblivious.

One of the best chapters of the book is the one on the Pentagram and Hexagram. The author shows their antiquity, their appearance in Palestine and Asia Minor many centuries before the present era. Very valuable also is the list of charms translated from Arabic MSS. Leaving the interpretation of the seals aside, the book is a valuable contribution to the evolution of magic history and its symbolism. A few diagrams and good indices enhance its value.

N.B. 21. M. GASTER.

MANICHÄISCHE HOMILIEN. Von H. J. POLOTSKY, mit einem Beitrag von H. IBSCHER. Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. CHESTER BEATTY, Bd. I. 12 × 8½, pp. xix + 96 + 22, pl. 1. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934. RM. 27.

Among the Manichæan Coptic papyri happily saved in the nick of time from complete destruction by Mr. Chester Beatty, there was one in such a state of decomposition that in the words of Dr. Ibscher, "it looked more like a dishevelled wig, than a manuscript."

For a long time Dr. Ibscher was baffled in his attempt to find out what it was, but with infinite patience he at last succeeded in recovering from this unpromising mass no less than 48 leaves of an old Manichæan book belonging in all probability to the fifth century. There is scarcely a single complete leaf and with the exception of one single page one may easily say that scarcely a line is absolutely complete. And yet in spite of all these difficulties, Dr. J. Polotsky has

undertaken the arduous task not only of publishing the Coptic text such as it is, but also of translating whatever was capable of translation. Many a page towards the end had to be left untranslated.

The book is a collection of prayers and hymns, of descriptions concerning the death of Mani, or as it is affirmed here, the crucifixion of Mani, together with laments over the persecution of the Manichæans and some legends concerning the founder. The most important section is occupied by a sermon, or rather homily, of a more or less apocalyptic character. It is a description of the great war which is to come at the end of days, the tribulations to which the followers of Mani will be exposed, the final victory of the faith, the appearance of Jesus, and the ascent of Mani into the realm of light. Though incoherent because of the large gaps in this fragmentary text, the general sense can be made out.

It is unnecessary to dwell more fully on the importance of this new publication, on the scholarship of Dr. M. Polotsky and the ingenuity and extraordinary craftsmanship of Dr. Ibscher. These are self-evident, and deserve all the praise that can be bestowed upon them. Every scrap of the Manichæan literature that can be saved is a valuable contribution to the study of that remarkable movement which has so greatly influenced the religious life of the West and has left traces, indelible to this very day, in the dualistic beliefs of many peoples. These texts evidently belong to that side of the Manichæan doctrine in which the leaning towards Christianity is more prominent. They differ from the other fragments found in Turfan in which Mani leans more towards Zoroastrianism and reflect once again the double face in which Mani's doctrine always appears. It is, moreover, interesting to find that Manichæaism found a stronghold in Egypt, and Dr. Polotsky would have earned our gratitude if he had not limited his introduction to a little over two pages instead of dilating upon these fundamental questions. He might have told us, *inter alia*, whether these Coptic

texts were translated from Greek or Syriac. Dr. Polotsky, no doubt, takes it for granted that Greek was the original language, but an explicit statement on this point would have been helpful. It might, perhaps, have shown that Manichæan literature was translated into Greek at a very early date and then penetrated into Egypt, almost within a century of Mani's death, *c.* 274.

A. 218. M. GASTER.

SAMSOUN: *Passé—Présent—Avenir.* Par R. VADALA. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. i–vii + 1–134, pls. 8. P. Geuthner, Paris, 1934. (Pays et Cités d'Orient II.)

The author of this work, which is well described by its title, was French Consul at Samsoun from 1925 to 1934. In publishing it, he claims to have exhausted the chief written sources of information on the main historical facts, and hopes for the time when the development of archæology shall enable some future Orientalist to write more fully on the subject. The first chapter, pp. 1–33, deals with the ancient, adjoining town of Amisos and the later (Seljuk) foundation of Samsoun from pre-Hellenic times through the Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Turkish periods. There are some interesting remarks on the changes in internal communications, which finally tranferred to Samsoun the prosperity of Sinope, as well as upon the historic role of the former as " ville forte et entrepôt ". A few pages are devoted to the sparse antiquities of the town and its coins. This chapter, backed up by a bibliography, provides at least an outline of local history which will be of some value to future workers. It suffers from the lack of any good map or plan and is marred by many bad misprints. Archæologists will regretfully note that the site of Amisos is now a prohibited military zone. The plates are limited to modern photographs of the town.

The rest of the work is for the most part frankly in the nature of a consular, economic report on the present state of

trade and industry with special reference to French interests. There are sections dealing with such matters as agriculture (still, of course, the most important element), deforestation, railways, banks, administration, etc., together with elaborate commercial and other statistics, leading to the conclusion that Samsoun will undoubtedly take a full share in whatever prosperity may be in store for modern Turkey.

A. 369. J. McG. DAWKINS.

LES HAMMÂMS DU CAIRE. By EDMOND PAUTY. (Mémoires des Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale, T. LXIV.) 14½ × 11, pp. viii + 62, pls. 12, figs. 22. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut, 1933.

Though public interest in ancient "Arab" houses has of late years somewhat reawakened in Cairo, very little notice has been taken of public baths. E. W. Lane, writing in 1835, stated that there were between sixty and seventy public baths in the metropolis. Not dealing, of course, with the archæological aspect of the question, he made no special mention of those which offered any historical interest. M. Saladin, in his *Manuel d'Art Musulman* (1907), reproduced a picture of the beautiful domed hall of the Baths of Al Muayyad with the mention "now destroyed". A few years later, the Comité de *Conservation des Monuments Arabes* partly cleared this interesting monument from the dust and débris under which it was buried, and some work of restoration, still proceeding at the present time, was begun. It was then realized that an important branch of Islamic architecture had been sadly neglected, and M. Pauty's timely memoir, published in Cairo by the Institut français, comes to fill an appreciable gap in our knowledge of medieval Egyptian domestic architecture. The author, who is the Architectural Expert attached to the Comité de Conservation, gives us a delightful account of the important part played by public baths in the life of the people, customs that have only of late

begun to fall into disuse owing to the determined Westernisation which rages in Egypt at the present time.

He gives us a very instructive chapter on the classica origins of Oriental baths and another detailing the architectural features of those buildings. Very few of them remain that date further back than the eighteenth century; of those few, two, the above-mentioned Baths of Al Muayyad and the entrance of those of Beshtak, are valuable specimens of fourteenth and fifteenth century work. Of the remaining forty-five recorded by M. Pauty, several show interesting details and allow us to form a definite idea of plans of construction which seem to have varied very little in the course of centuries. In addition to many good photographs, M. Pauty has given an artistic value to his work by the reproduction of charming pencil sketches, taken, very courageously, under picturesque conditions. In fact, he admits in his preface that, in order to study these hammâms, it is necessary to take a great many baths! The account he gives us of the process is not unattractive, but we are none the less grateful to him for enabling us to acquire a second-hand knowledge of this special branch of Islamic architecture.

A. 205. H. DEVONSHIRE.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIÆVAL SCULPTURE. By R. D. BANERJI. Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. xlvii. 13 × 10½, pp. xviii + 204, pls. 96. Delhi: Manager of publications, 1933.

By mediaeval Mr. Banerji means the period between A.D. 800 and 1200. The Eastern school of sculpture, of which he gives the history, existed under the Pāla kings of Bengal with varying fortune from the ninth century until it finally declined in the twelfth century with the inroads of the Muhammadans. The work is much more than descriptive, and the author, whose death is a great loss to Indian archæology, had a clear conception of the historical origins of this school and

of its relations to other schools. He shows how the Mathurā school was influenced by Gandhāra, and in what way the Eastern school was related to both. He also keeps quite clear and distinct the different characteristics of the Gupta school and the schools of southern India.

Although the iconography of Buddhists, Jains, and Hindus holds the first place, there are chapters on the temples, architecture, and the casting of metal images. In dealing with disputed questions the author is judicious and moderate all through, but in his chapter entitled the Representation of the Buddhacharitra he does not appear to have got close enough to the facts. It is surely of importance to know what version of the Buddha story was followed by the artist, but the author does not seem to have asked the question or to have ever consulted a text. He refers to Pāli accounts, which have no right to come in at all, and has failed to see what the essential characteristics of some scenes are. He also thinks that the earth-touching in the contest with Māra represents the moment when Gautama became "the perfect-one or Buddha". The plates are a great enrichment, but they are limited to the Eastern school. In a work where so much instructive comparison has to be made and questions of origin discussed, it is a pity that he has had to refer entirely to other works for illustrations of related schools.

A. 183. E. J. THOMAS.

MINIATURE PAINTINGS OF THE JAINA KALPASŪTRA, as executed in the early Western Indian style. A descriptive and illustrated catalogue by W. NORMAN BROWN. Smithsonian Institution: Freer Gallery of Art: Oriental Studies, No. 2. 14 × 10½, pp. vi + 66, pls. 45, figs. 152. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1934.

By the Kalpasūtra Professor Brown means not the old work of that name but the so-called Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, which contains lives of the Jinas and lists of disciples.

The paintings are reproduced in black and white from fourteen manuscripts now in the United States, and are exactly described without discussion of possible relations to other Indian styles. Indeed, as this early Western Indian style belongs to the late fifteenth century, and as "the paintings are to a large extent clichés in motif and composition", there is probably little comparison to be done.

A. 362. E. J. THOMAS.

CONCORDANCE PANINI-PATAÑJALI (Mahābhāṣya). By P. C. LAHIRI. Indische Forschungen. Heft 10. 9½ × 6¼, pp. ii + 114. Breslau: Verlag von M. & B. Marcus, 1935. RM. 6.

Dr. Lahiri at the suggestion of Professor Liebich has produced this valuable concordance, which indicates the page in Patañjali where each sūtra, vārttika, etc., has been commented on, and where it has been elsewhere quoted, each kind of reference being clearly distinguished. It has evidently been a laborious task, requiring high scholarly qualifications.

A. 429. E. J. THOMAS.

STAATSVERWALTUNG IM ALTEN INDIEN. By B. BRELOER. Kauṭalīya Studien III. Erster Band: Finanzverwaltung und Wirtschaftsführung. 9 × 6, pp. xx + 586. Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag O. Harrassowitz, 1934. RM. 20.

Dr. Breloer's two former studies on the *Arthaśāstra* dealt with the theory of landed property and private law, especially in relation to the statements of Megasthenes. In the present volume he goes with still greater thoroughness into the questions of financial and economic administration. It is unfortunately impossible here to examine in detail this extensive work. The author shows the unhappy results of merely taking the text of the *Arthaśāstra* and attempting to fill up the gaps by making suppositions that come naturally to a European. What he does is to approach the subject with the knowledge

of a lawyer and to begin by examining the actual Indian fiscal system of to-day. From that he gets back to the system of the Muhammadan rulers, and reaches a basis from which to work back farther still. It is not surprising that he finds much in previous investigations to criticize, and it is excellent that he should have compelled a revision both of the evidence and of the theories rather hurriedly based thereon.

From time to time he mentions the authorship, but without ever weighing the evidence systematically. He declares that he scarcely believes that there was a considerable interval between the Vedic period and the age of the Mauryas, but that the transition occurred *ziemlich plötzlich*; and as any revolution carried out by military conquest requires equally able statesmanship, so the warlike figure of Chandragupta required the statesmanlike wisdom of Kauṭilya. The existence of the wise Kauṭilya is thus proved deductively, and the author is even able to tell us that he was an Aryan. What he does not tell us is how he is so certain that this Kauṭilya was the author of the extant *Arthaśāstra*. But, as he himself points out, the question of authorship is at present independent of the matters which he so ably sets forth.

A 173 E. J. THOMAS.

THE QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE. Vol III, No. 4, 1933: pp. 42, pls. 10, figs. 10, map 1. Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, 1934: pp. 108, pls. 60, figs. 42, plans 6. 11 × 8. Jerusalem: For the Government of Palestine by Humphrey Milford, London.

Vol. iii, No. 4, contains an account by C. N. Johns of the excavations at Pilgrim's Castle, Athlit (1932); the ancient Tell and the outer defences of the Crusading Castle. The Tell itself was found to go back at least to the Middle Bronze period, say 1600–1400 B.C. The occupation during part of the Persian and Hellenistic period could be traced; but so far there do not appear to be any special indications of the invasion and presence of the Sea Peoples round about 1200 B.C.

Besides a description of a bust of Pan by J. H. Iliffe, and a hoard of Mamluk coins by L. A. Mayer, there is a useful summary of the excavations in Palestine during 1932–3. From this it appears that there is still a gap in Jericho during the fourteenth and thirteenth century B.C., so that the early part of the Iron Age, which is so important for the Biblical account of the capture of Jericho by the Israelites and the conquest of Canaan, is not represented. At Megiddo the earliest remains were pushed back well into the fourth millennium B.C. On the southern frontier, at Gaza, excavation shows that the Egyptian rule did not cease there after the revolts illustrated in the Amarna Letters, but continued till late Ramesside times.

Vol. iv, Nos. 1 and 2, contains accounts of cemeteries and a "monastery" at the Y.M.C.A. (Jerusalem), by J. H. Iliffe; a Nestorian hermitage between Jericho and the Jordan by D. C. Baramki and St. H. Stephan; lead coffins, by M. Avi-Yonah; a hoard of Umayyad coins by L. A. Mayer, and Evliyā Tshelebī's travels in Palestine, translated by St. H. Stephan, annotated by L. A. Mayer. But the chief attraction is a valuable description of the excavations at Tell Abu Hawām, by R. W. Hamilton. This site, near Haifa, has revealed much of interest, and the full plans and numerous plates afford an excellent idea of its archæological importance. *Inter alia* one may note the cylinder seals of the Late Bronze Age, one with Syro-Hittite analogies (No. 410), and the curious seal No. 217 to which it is difficult to find a parallel. The stratification points to some violent disturbance at the close of the Bronze Age, which may naturally be associated with the inroads of Levantine peoples, the occupation of the coast lands by Philistines, etc., and the beginning of the Iron Age. The "vigorous life" of the earlier period is abruptly extinguished, to be replaced by scanty beginnings, "suggestive, perhaps, of the first 'digging in' of a newly established people" (pp. 68–9).

A. 319. S. A. Cook.

A Pageant of Asia; a Study of Three Civilizations. By Kenneth Saunders. 8¾ × 6, pp. xii + 452, ills. 62. London: Oxford University Press, 1934. 21s.

The author, who has made a reputation in Europe and America as a teacher of and writer about religions and cultural topics, has here chronicled the results of his good fortune, in having been able to spend some ten years amid the modern representatives of the ancient civilizations which form his "pageant"—India, China, and Japan. The appeal of the book is not so much religious or philosophical, much less philological, as artistic and literary. There is an immense number of excellent illustrations, both graphic and literary. In Part I, "India," we are invited to witness Aryans "becoming Indians", then reacting to the genius of the Śākyamuni, to that of Aśoka, and then trailing down to the advent of Akbar. In Part II: "China," we witness beginnings of its peculiar civilization, a "classic age", and the eras of Han, T'ang, and Sung. In Part III we follow an analogous procession down to the aftermath of the Muromachi era.

Mr. Saunders's wish is to see "Asia put 'on the map' of Western schools and colleges" in the effort "to try to understand" that to which we owe more than we realize. And his book, as a well-written compilation addressed to the general reader, should aid in making more possible such understanding. Whether the proportionate attention given in Part I to two notable men belongs to historic fitness will find critics. As an outcome of the author's special tendency in his work, it is perhaps natural enough. And the eloquent earnestness of his admiration is not unneeded for a Teacher who is so badly libelled by the aims and ideals imputed to him, when they bear the stamp not of his day but that of the succeeding years of rampant monasticism. Mr. Saunders for all his admiration of Gotama, does not seem to see, how he too propagates these libels, betraying that curious lack of historic sensitiveness which yet dominates the literature about early Buddhism. Thus, anything which, in a totally uncritical

canon, is put into the mouth of the Founder, is in this book also accepted as having been said by him: "The Buddha said . . ."

Enough said! save for this one word. What the Buddha is said to have said should have been carefully translated. Even he is not made out to have said "One thing only do I teach . . ." When I introduced that text to English readers in 1912, I at least rendered it by "Just this have I taught and do I teach . . ." The particle *eva* is simply an underlining of the preceding noun, not the making of it a monopoly. "One thing only" is not so rendered in early Pali, or Sanskrit, as any Indologist knows. Yet every Buddhist with a pen in hand unites in this exaggeration. Gotama was so much greater than to make his gospel centre round *dukkha*. To do that is the doctor's business, not the task of religion. Nor is he even said to have said "This body is of *khandha*'s made", the correct rendering of the verse, certainly not Gotama's, being: "Burdens are the *khandha*'s five", four-fifths of the five being mind, not body. These are, it may be said, captious carping. I would say, if we *will* malign, let it be done accurately.

A. 315. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

METAPHYSIK DES BUDDHISMUS. Versuch einer philosophischen Interpretation der Lehre Vasubandhus und seiner Schule. By JUNYU KITAYAMA. (Veröffentlichungen des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Tübingen. Heft 7.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 268. Stuttgart-Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1934. RM. 18.

This treatise consists of four chapters on Vasubandhu's epistemology, metaphysic of absolute existence, notion of release as philosophy of existence (imputed to "Buddha"), and a translation of the twenty-three verses entitled Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi. The writer with engaging modesty pleads, that even if it be judged that (his) interpretation involves "historical falsifying", the present attempt may count as a personal revelation, namely of the interpreter.

The vast labour, time and patience involved in these interpretations of wordy word-structures such as the Vijñānavāda, the Yogâcāra of a decadent Buddhism, calls for high appreciation. Whether it was worth while is not here well vindicated. The author is no exception to his predecessors, who try to expound what they are pleased to call "Buddhism" with no more of the historical sense than was in Vasubandhu, writing about what "ist von Buddha gesprochen worden" (p. 245) nearly a millennium after the day when that teacher was speaking on earth. An interpretation which did not involve "falsifying of history" would reveal a first-hand knowledge of how the oldest known scriptures betray not only an acceptance of the then current Deity as in and of the self, but also a growing tendency in an opposite direction. It is not only "an empirical self" that we find denied in the Hīnayāna scholastics among whom emerged, just after Vasubandhu, Buddhaghoṣa and Buddhadatta.

A 278. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

Le Bouddhisme en Annam. Des origines au xiii^e siècle. Par Trân-Vân-Giap. Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Tome xxxii, Fasc. 1, 1932. 11 × 7¾, pp. 72 + xv, maps 2. Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1932.

This essay was first published in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, xxxii, fasc. 1, and won for its author a diploma in the École des Hautes Études. In it for the first time we have this subject as derived from Annamite sources, some of which have apparently found appearance in roman letter in the *BEFEO*, but the chief treasure among these sources being a yet unknown work which the author discovered in a library at Haiphong, entitled "Chronicle of Eminent Religieux of the Garden of Dhyāna," and covering bibliographies from A.D. 580 to 1221. From these he has sketched a Buddhist history of Annam in four periods, from the third to the thirteenth century. Preoccupation with

Dhyāna is a notable feature, but in this term the author is solely concerned with "meditation", ignorantly seeing in this its *original* Buddhist object, an object to which I have tried repeatedly to do justice. Dhyāna faded into "meditation" with the depreciation of communion with other worlds in decadent monastic Buddhism. Save for this slip—and who does not make it?—the work is a valuable addition to our historical materials.

A. 247. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

EL FILÓSOFO AUTODIDACTO (Risāla Hayy ibn Yaqẓân). By IBN ṬUFAYL (ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK). Nueva traduccion española por ÁNGEL GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA. Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 201, ills. 2. Madrid: Imprenta de Estanislao Maestre, 1934.

In this country Ibn Ṭufail's name has been known since 1671, when Edward Pocock published a Latin translation of the work under review. Simon Ockley published an English translation in 1708, and interest in the book was again revived when Mr. Fulton revised Ockley's translation from a critical edition of the text which was published by Gauthier in Algiers in 1900. Professor Palencia also has made good use of Gauthier's text. The present volume is prefaced by a scholarly introduction which the editor has enriched with bibliographical references and lexical notes on the author's use of technical terms.

By now we are accustomed as a matter of course to anticipate a high standard of accuracy in the publications of the Schools of Arabic at Madrid and Granada, and this little volume deserves to rank with its predecessors in the series.

Two small points may be noticed. First, there is no mention of Mr. Fulton's edition and its interesting Introduction; and secondly Avicenna's great work, the *Shifā'* (known to the medieval scholastics as *Assipha* or *Assepha*), is more than once called the *Shafā*.

A. 242. A. GUILLAUME.

Exégèse Talmudique des Prophéties Messianiques. By Jean-Joseph Brierre-Narbonne. 13 × 10, pp. 120. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. frs. 50.

To this useful summary of texts, which have been interpreted messianically, the author prefaces a short introduction in which he sets out the Rabbinical rules and methods of Biblical exegesis. The collection, with its copious indexes, should prove of value to those who would pursue the subject further, but in the absence of discussion and context, the compilation can never stand alone.

The author has lithographed his work admirably.

A. 795. A. Guillaume.

The History of Buddhist Thought. By Edward J. Thomas. The History of Civilization. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xvi + 314, pls. 4. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1933. 15*s*.

The "History of Civilization" aims at presenting in accessible form the results of modern research throughout the whole range of the social sciences, and this principle determines the scope of Dr. Thomas's two contributions to the series. The careful and well-documented account, given in the present volume, describes the development of Buddhist thought, with the emphasis laid more on the religious than on the philosophical aspect. The older teaching of the Hīnayāna, as set out in the Pali Canon, naturally therefore receives the most detailed treatment; and attention may be drawn in particular to the admirable handling of the problem of what the early Buddhists understood by *yoga*. The subject of the book is one on which there is remarkably little general agreement, and, while the author votes almost invariably for the sensible, not the novel or exciting, solution, he must inevitably expect that every student will find some statement with which he disagrees as offending against his own private convictions. The present reviewer would be inclined to query

some of the views taken about the way in which the doctrine evolved historically. One of these is sufficiently fundamental to receive a word of comment, namely, the remark on p. 169 that "we do know that [the earliest schools of Mahâyâna] must have begun among the Sarvāstivādins"; the evidence for this, if I have grasped the argument correctly, is that certain passages in the *Divyāvadāna* show the preliminary stages of thought which led ultimately to the Mahâyâna. The datable portions of that work are centuries later than the beginning of Mahāyāna, and there is no proof yet available that these or similar passages are to be found in the pre-Mahāyāna portion of the Sarvāstivādin canon. I should prefer to put it that, though positive knowledge is not attainable at present, tradition, such evidence as there is, and the probabilities all point to the Mahāsaṅghikas as the sect in which the Mahāyāna had its origin, and that the influence of the Sarvāstivāda, except perhaps by repulsion, is not apparent till the second wave of the movement, which we associate with the name of Āsaṅga and which betrays in its scholasticism its relationship to that school and to its offshoot, the Sautrāntikas.

A. 51. E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE SUMMA PHILOSOPHIAE OF AL-SHAHRASTÂNÎ, KITÂB NIHÂYATU 'L-IQDÂM FÎ 'ILMI 'L-KALÂM. Edited with a translation by ALFRED GUILLAUME. 10 × 6½, pp. xvi + 173 + 514. London: Oxford University Press, 1934. 42*s*.

The subject of this book is indicated by its title, which is well rendered in the introduction as *The present position of speculative theology*. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd el Qâdir esh Shahrastânî, the author of the celebrated book on religions *El Milal wa en Niḥal*, here covers the field of Muslim theology in twenty chapters dealing systematically with all its problems. Writing as an Ash'arite, but exercising his independent judgment, he shows how the tenets of orthodoxy are justified

by reasoning and the points in which the chief adversaries of his school—the philosophers, Mu'tazila, Karrâmîya, Shî'a, Khârijites and others—differ from its principles, giving their arguments for their views and the answers. The book is valuable not only because it shows how far orthodoxy had advanced at an important stage in its progress, but also for the useful light it throws on its development from the start. The words of El Ash'arî himself and also those of one of his principal followers, El Bâqilânî, are often cited and few of the writings of either are preserved. In the same kind of way Esh Shahrastânî increases our knowledge of some of the sects that he combats.

It is surprising that so useful a book by such a rightly esteemed author has never been published before. Dr. Guillaume's critical edition is based upon three of the four manuscripts known to exist and leaves nothing to be desired. The translation, which generally takes the form of an abbreviation summarizing the arguments without omitting anything of consequence, is extremely clear and will be found helpful for understanding other books as well as the text. The introduction includes some remarks on Esh Shahrastânî and his work.

A. 321. R. GUEST.

CATALOGUE DU MUSÉE ARABE DU CAIRE. Stèles Funéraires. Par Mm. HASSAN HAWARY et HUSAIN RACHED. Tome i. 14 × 10, pp. viii + 244, pls. 75. Cairo, 1932.

More than three thousand ancient Muhammadan tombstones, probably derived from the cemeteries of Cairo and Aswân, are preserved in the Museum. The present volume describes the four hundred earliest of them. Of these, one which was published in this JOURNAL by Hasan Effendî el Hawârî bears the very early date of A.H. 31. The next earliest is dated 174 and for each of the forty-one years from 200 down to 240 with which the book ends there is at least one stone and generally several stones. All the stones earlier than 200 are

reproduced in the illustrations, and a large selection of the best of the other stones is given. In a short Arabic preface the editors tell what is known about the provenance of the stones and explain the arrangement of the book; they draw attention also to some points that arise from the study of the objects.

Generally the inscriptions on the stones consist of the name and date of death of the deceased, accompanied by a declaration of his belief. A few historical names occur: there is the actual tombstone of 'Abdallâh ibn Lahî'a, a judge and early historical authority well known to all students of Egyptian history, that of a daughter of the equally well known Yu'nis ibn 'Abd el A'lâ, and a few others mentioning persons known from books. It is very rare that any indication is given of the circumstances of the deceased, an addition such as el haḍḍâ' (the bootmaker) being quite exceptional. As the editors point out, the "nouns of relationship" often attached to the names refer most often to the Arab tribes which took part in the conquest of Egypt, such, for instance, as 'Akk, Azd, G͟hâfiq, Haḍramaut, Ḥimyar, Kinda, Quraish͟, Ma'âfir, Murâd, Ru'ain, Tujîb and Ṣadif, and rarely to others like Bajîla, Ju'fî or Tamîm, or to places, though there are a certain number connected with distant parts of the eastern half of the Islamic empire, with Syria, and one even with Spain. The indices are arranged so that it is easy to see the position in this respect. The frequent absence of any indication of tribal relationship on the stones is significant also: Arab maulâ relationship was ceasing to have any importance, as the Arabs in Egypt were losing their prerogatives and the bulk of the population was becoming converted to Islam. The forms of the declaration of belief are various. There is no declaration on the earliest stone, so that probably the practice had not been instituted in the first years after the conquest. An allusion in a declaration to the promise of resurrection in the Gospel and in the Old Testament on one of the stones (No. 114) is curious.

The value of the series as a guide to the development of the Arabic script is obvious. It shows that Kufic of several different types flourished at the same time; it is not clear that any of the different varieties was derived directly from one of the others. The earliest stones are devoid of ornament and the writing on them is severely plain. Embellished script appears before the end of the second century and soon becomes frequent and sometimes very ornate. The other ornament is never much more than rudimentary. The editors point to it as the earliest dated ornament that can be looked upon as purely Islamic, to be compared with Coptic work of the same epoch. No explanation is offered of the almost total absence of stones older than the last quarter of the second century. The transcription and translation of the inscriptions, which are often difficult, has been done skilfully; the arrangement of the book has been well thought out.

N. R. 25. R. GUEST.

THE MATSYA PURĀṆA. A Study. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. Bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archæology No. 5. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 140. Madras: University of Madras, 1935. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

The chief aim of this study, of which the general editor is Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, is "to explain and interpret the Matsya Purāṇa, one of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, and show what contribution it makes to the sum total of Hindu culture and to ancient Indian History in particular". A work of this description naturally necessitates a certain amount of compilation, but this need not detract from its value, provided the facts are presented in readable form and the findings are satisfying. There is much in the present study of interest to the general reader, for example, the whole of the chapter on architecture, the author's discussion of the subject of evolution, and his very interesting critique on the Tamil version of the purāṇa; but his inconclusive findings are apt to tantalize, thus, the conclusion

reached regarding the date of composition of the purāṇa. After assigning the work a place among the oldest of the purāṇas, the author adds (p. 74): "If by the term 'oldest' is meant only second century A.D., we are not only prepared to grant it, but also to go further back by three or four centuries" The study would have benefited by further revision of the language and by a clearer understanding as to the class of reader to whom it is addressed—whether the scholar or the general reader. In his exposition the author has elucidated some quite elementary points, and on the other hand left several technical terms unexplained. If, as is desirable, a university publication is to reach the largest number of readers, a style of writing has surely to be adopted that is both expository and engaging. The present study, in spite of the labour bestowed on its compilation and the intrinsic interest of the subject, makes rather heavy reading.

A. 418. M. S. H. THOMPSON.

ORIENTAL STUDIES. In honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry. Edited by JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xv + 503, portrait 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 50*s*.

This fine book contains seventy important studies by some of the best known authorities of the world on Oriental subjects connected with Zoroastrianism. There is a short biographical sketch of Dastur Pavry by the veteran Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, who also contributes an interesting article on a Manichæan fragment brought from Turfan in 1908. It is obviously impossible to think of any detailed review or criticism of so many learned articles; the names of their authors are sufficient guarantee of their interest and importance. It would be invidious to attempt to deal with one or two articles, impossible to mention all. But scholars interested in the religious beliefs of ancient Iranians and modern Parsees must assuredly read this book. The general reader, too, will find much worth reading in

the papers which deal with the date of Zoroaster, the Home of the Indo-Europeans, and other similar matters.

The articles are mostly in English; some are in French, and some in German. The editing has been carefully done by the Dasturji's son, Dr. Jal Pavry. He and the Oxford University Press have produced a work which is well arranged, well printed, and very free from mistakes and misprints. Both are to be congratulated on the result.

A. 121. C. N. SEDDON.

KABIR AND THE BHAGTI MOVEMENT: Vol. I, KABIR—HIS BIOGRAPHY. By MOHAN SINGH. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xviii + 103. Lahore: Atma Ram and Sons, 1934. Rs. 2.

This brochure consists of a series of notes in which Dr. Mohan Singh tries to sift fact from fable in the legend of Kabir by a detailed correlation of various published and unpublished documents. He corrects a number of current errors on the subject; in particular he discredits the teacher-disciple relationships by which tradition links together the great names of medieval hagiology. His analysis (pp. 70–4) of the standard ingredients of a saintly biography is a useful contribution to Indian folk-lore.

A. 329 F. J. RICHARDS.

PŪRVA-MADHYA-KĀLĪN BHĀRAT. By RAGHUBIR SINH, B.A., LL.B. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 10 + 296 + 24. Allahabad: Indian Press, Ltd., 1938.

The period covered by this Hindi history is the three centuries of Muslim rule in India from the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. to the coming of the Mughals. Kunvar Raghuvir Singh divides the age into five parts, which he names as follows: "Military monarchy," "Enlightened despotism," "Theocratic monarchy" (Firūz Tughlaq and his successors), "The period of confusion" (the middle years

the fifteenth century), and finally the "Feudal monarchy" the Lodis.

Though it is perhaps true to say, as the author does, that ese 300 years produced only two really great rulers, the riod, from the variety of the systems of rule which are emplified, affords rich material for the student of *rāja-nīti*. is the aim of this study, with this special point in view, present in a succinct manner facts and considerations little iown to those of his countrymen whose only language is indi; for it is a curious circumstance that, though several the chief modern authorities on Indian Islamic history are indus, they have usually written in another language.

Kunvar Raghuvīr Singh is obviously well-read in the -to-date literature of his subject, and his book is a thought-lly written and well-arranged one, narrative and critical mmentary being judiciously blended.

192. J. V. S. WILKINSON.

ANDBOOK OF THE RÄWANG DIALECT OF THE NUNG LANGUAGE. By J. T. O. BARNARD. 10 × 6½, pp. xi + 118. Rangoon: Supt. Gov. Printing, 1934. 6s.

The Nungs inhabit a tract in the extreme north of Burma hich has only been administered for the last twenty years so. They are described as being of fine physique and leading "clean" outdoor life. Their customs do not appear to ffer much from those of the tribes around them, but two ay be mentioned. A man's property goes to his youngest n. There are clan or family names, but individuals are mmonly named according to the order of their birth, there eing one series of names for males and another for females. his must at least save trouble in the naming of an infant. he preface states: "This is the first book on the Nung nguage which has many dialects, of which, however, Räwang ay be taken as the one most commonly spoken in the Nung ill-tracts, excepting, of course, the Daru dialect which is uite distinct from the others." Apparently what is meant

is that Nung and Daru are allied languages, and that Răwang is the principal dialect of Nung.

We have reason to be grateful to officials who add to our knowledge of these obscure people, but one cannot help regretting that the author has not provided himself with such rudimentary knowledge of spoken sounds as might have been acquired in a very small fraction of the time which it must have taken him to write this book. The symbols *er* and *ur* are used to represent two different sounds, both apparently vowels, the former described as "a sound between the German ü and the English er", and the latter to be pronounced "as in English". The sound represented by *ng* in the English word *tongue* is said (p. 15) to consist of the two consonants *n* and *g*. And though there are said to be four tones in Nung, "no attempt has been made in this book to indicate these tones by signs or marks. Any system for doing this would necessarily be complicated and of little help to the student who can only hope to gain a correct pronunciation of Nung sounds by constant colloquial practice." This is as if someone published a grammar and phrase-book of the French language giving only the roots of verbs, on the ground that the inflections are complicated and must be acquired by constant colloquial practice. It is true that there was once no uniform system for indicating tones. But a simple method of marking Chinese and Burmese tones, by means of sloping or level lines, was used in 1912 in the *Principles* of the International Phonetic Association, has since been approved by an international congress of philologists, and is employed in the *Burmese Phonetic Reader*. It is difficult to see what excuse there can now be for publishing a book on a tone-language without marking the tones.

How to deal with grammar in languages of this class is a far more difficult question, but Sweet's *History of Language*, a little primer in which their structure was explained, was published a generation ago, and it should by now be generally recognized that they cannot be forced into a framework

invented for the Latin group of languages without misleading learners and adding to their difficulties. There appears to be at most one instance of inflection in Nung, and such expressions as "future perfect tense" and "potential mood" are as dust in the eyes of the student. It would have been better to append notes to the sentences. As these stand it is often impossible to tell which word represents which in the translations.

A. 366. R. GRANT BROWN.

VAṄGĪYA-ŚABDA-KOṢA. By HARICHARAṆA VANDOPĀDHYĀYA. 11 × 9. Published by the "Viswabhāratī", Calcutta. In monthly parts of 32 pages of two columns. 1340 Sāl = A.D. 1933.

This Dictionary, which is in Bengali, is estimated to run to 4,000 pages, and will be the most complete and exhaustive Dictionary of the Bengali language, up to the present. The compiler states that its compilation has extended over twenty-seven years. It will contain in addition to modern Bengali words, both literary and colloquial, ancient Bengali words taken from all available sources, Sanskrit words current or suitable for use in Bengali, and all words of Arabic, Persian, or other languages both Oriental and European which are in use in Bengali. For the derivation of Bengali *Tadbhava* words, the original Sanskrit form of the word, and the successive Pali and Prakrit forms are given; the corresponding forms in the other Indian vernacular languages, and also the comparative forms in Avesta, Greek, Latin, and European languages, of these and of the Sanskrit words which are included in the Dictionary. The Sanskrit roots and the origin of the Bengali roots are also given. The meanings of words are explained by means of examples of their use from old Bengali writings and from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, and other works, a list of which is given at the beginning of the Dictionary, and the reference is noted against the example.

In the case of Sanskrit words, their derivation is given and their composition (*samās*) according to Pāṇini. This Dictionary, which is likely to remain the standard dictionary of the Bengali language, will be of the greatest use to all Bengali students, both of their own language and also of Sanskrit.

The compiler is to be congratulated on the completeness and exhaustive nature of the work, which, he says, owed its inception to the advice and encouragement of the poet Rabindranāth Tagore, who has written a short foreword, and its completion to the financial help of the late Maharaja Manindra Chandri Nandi. It is a book of reference which can be recommended to all Bengali students and scholars.

A. 45. E. H. C. WALSH.

BABYLONIAN MENOLOGIES AND THE SEMITIC CALENDARS. By S. LANGDON. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1933. 11 × 6½, pp. vi + 169. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The purpose of these three lectures, which now appear in the amplified form customary in this well-known series, was to present the general conclusions resulting from a study of the Assyrian calendars of the months and days of the year, the cuneiform texts of which are now in great part available, some having been copied by the author himself, who contemplates a full edition of the material in the near future. The first lecture contains a general survey of the ancient calendars of Western Asia, and the other two are occupied by a detailed consideration of the months in order, Nisan and Teshrit, as the two "New Year" months, being studied at a greater length, which necessitates the devotion to them of the whole of the second lecture.

In the calendars as in other elements of civilization the extraordinary prestige of the ancient Babylonian institutions is again evident, so that the author has no difficulty in showing that, time and again, populations which were already in possession of month-names of their own discarded them upon

coming into contact with the Babylonian system, or rather, one of the Babylonian systems, that of Nippur, which had already triumphed over a number of local calendars formerly used in the different Sumerian cities. It is probable that the survival of this one among several lists was due to the superior religious importance of Nippur, and from this assumption it is argued that the adoption of the Nippur month-names by "foreign" peoples was concomitant with their subjection to the religious influence of Sumer; they adopted ceremonies and observances, and thus were obliged to adopt the chronological framework in which they were fitted. Yet it is perhaps unduly narrowing the conception of this process to describe the influence as Sumerian, and to regard all the "converts" (in varying degrees "Semitic") as purely receivers. We are not now so clear about the origins of the complex early Babylonian civilization that we can confidently affix these labels. This has a particular application to the subject now in question where the author affirms that the Semitic equivalents (Nisan, Ayar, Sivan, etc.) of the Sumerian month-names are merely translations of the latter. Yet if one reads carefully his own analysis of these names in the individual months one will find that some of the interpretations seem forcible, and others allude to aspects of the observances postulated for the months quite different from those regarded by the Sumerian names. It seems evident that these Semitic names have an authority and antiquity of their own.

Some incidental discussions are of interest outside of the main theme of the work, most important among them being the fragment of a text, only in part intelligible, which gives, according to Dr. Fotheringham's discovery, the length of the seasonal hours, i.e. the twelfth parts of the respective periods of light and darkness, in the various months of the year. It is perhaps regrettable that it had to appear in this context where a full discussion of other matters of interest arising from it was precluded. Apart from this we have space only to mention a renewed examination of the *šabattu*—Sabbath question,

which summarizes the knowledge now available, and finally to observe the alleged pre-Islamic month-names listed on p. 26 as something of a curiosity.

A. 378. C. J. GADD.

TAO, THE GREAT LUMINANT. By EVAN MORGAN, D.D. Essays from Huai Nan Tzŭ. 8¾ × 6, pp. xiv + 287, ills. 3. London: Kegan Paul, 1935. 10*s*.

Huai Nan Tzŭ is the common appellation of Liu An, a Chinese philosopher who died 122 B.C. His studies lay in the direction of alchemistic research and in the Taoist philosophy. He was a grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty, and was styled Prince of Huai Nan. Liu An became very popular, and men of talent resorted to him, among them being eight famous scholars interested in Taoism. They gathered together for study, the theme being *jên*, *i*,—benevolence and justice. Twenty-one essays were written, under the editorship of Liu An, and they have come down through the ages and are known to Chinese scholars as Huai Nan Tzŭ.

The classic of Taoism, the Tao Têh King, has attracted much attention from European students of Chinese philosophy and literature, and its many translations have made it familiar to the Western world. Other writings of the Tao school have been much neglected, and Dr. Evan Morgan has rendered a notable service in giving English translations of eight of the twenty-one essays of Huai Nan Tzŭ—a difficult feat which could only be done by an accomplished scholar. Quiet research and patient toil spread over many years are behind the volume now published, which is a valuable contribution to the serious study of Chinese philosophic thought.

Dr. Morgan calls "Tao" the Great Luminant. It is to be feared that very few of the readers of these essays, either in Chinese or in English, will find them very luminous. Tao is such an elusive term, and withal so comprehensive, that

ordinary mortals stand aghast at any attempt to understand it, and can only admire the super-men who can intelligently apprehend it. Dr. Morgan gives a new rendering of the word as "Cosmic Spirit"; others use the term "Nature". The character itself means Way or Path, and also Word, and is used as the last-named in the translation of St. John's gospel. "In the beginning was the Tao," etc. But as used in Taoist philosophy, the character seems to mean more than any of these terms. Dr. J. C. Ferguson says, "It is the great force which sustains Heaven and Earth. Tao is Nature; but it is more; it is Nature at work. It is also more than Cosmic Spirit, for in it inheres the idea of a Spirit in spontaneous activity."

Dr. Morgan admits that his new term Cosmic Spirit is not consistently used throughout the work; he has found it more convenient often to simply retain "Tao" untranslated. In giving the Taoist view, our author says, "The Tao is conceived of as something self-existent and being independent of the visible world. It belongs to the invisible world and the visible comes from it." "It is the Source of all and the Eternal Sustainer of all creation. It gives out energy, but without the least exhaustion of its own powers and resources."

It is stated that a fundamental difference between the Taoist and the Confucianist is that the latter is involved in endless etiquettes from which the Taoist is free. In actuality the line of demarcation is by no means clear, and many men are a mixture of Confucianist and Taoist, and often Buddhist too!

We are told that "the inherent nature of the Tao is *purity*, *tranquillity*, *rest*, and *unity*"; the meaning being that the spiritual must predominate in all things. "The assimilation of the Tao has its foundation in *meekness*, *tenderness*, *poverty of spirit*, and *quietness*. These are expressed sometimes by one word, *emptiness*."

The two words "Wu wei" form a distinctive term in Taoist philosophy. "Wu wei" means literally non-action, and is so understood by the Confucianist, who says that

Shun (the Sage-Emperor) ruled by non-action, that is, the people obeyed him from admiration of his virtue. This never seems a satisfactory explanation, and there certainly was action to bring about the results attributed to the sages. To the Taoist, *Wu wei* is not just negative, but is something positive. It means that "no selfish idea, or personal will, can enter and interfere with natural justice: no personal lust or desire may twist and wrench the true course of action. Reason and right must guide in action, in order to exercise power according to the intrinsic properties of things. This is a natural exercise of force, and by so doing, there will be no room for any subtle art or craftiness". But it is not easy to see how all this can be comprehended in the two words "Wu wei".

The subtleties of this philosophy, while intriguing, are beyond pursuit by the present reviewer, who can only commend the book itself to those interested. The translation may be relied upon, and in preparing it Dr. Morgan has made good use of his profound knowledge of both Chinese and English literature. The Notes and Annotations are very helpful, especially when they give the essential Chinese characters.

A few misprints have been noted, and there is an oft-repeated inaccuracy on p. xvii, where "D'ont" is used for "Don't". The print and format of the book are convenient and satisfactory.

A. 426. ISAAC MASON.

AL-AWSHÂL (FIFTH DIWAN). By JAMIL ṢADQI AL-ZAHÂWI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. pp. 336. photo 1. Baghdâd. Maṭba'a Baghdâd, 1934.

All the poems in this volume seem to have been written since 1928. Most are occasional poems, on the death of King Faisal, on the death of Shawqi, on the revolt of the Assyrians; others are scraps two lines long. Most are in classic metres though the poet allows himself many liberties.

The longer are divided mechanically into sections but only one is strophic. The longest, which annoyed the pious, is a tale of the hereafter ending with the storm of heaven by the inhabitants of hell. It was a dream, because the poet's supper had disagreed with him. This reminds one of Abu'l-'Alâ. The sentiments in other poems are quite unorthodox. The nationalist spirit is prominent. Is the poetry the product of real national feeling or is it propaganda to stimulate this feeling? It is tempting to read a national meaning into some of the scraps which in themselves are not worth printing. Recent events contradict the last line of the poem on the Assyrians, "They have no fear; they have asked protection from the hero." The printing is careless and the list of errata far from complete. If a foreigner may express an opinion, much of this volume is distinctly prosaic.

A 423 A. S. TRITTON.

"LES PERLES CHOISIES" D'IBN ACH-CHIHNA. [Translated by] J. SAUVAGET. Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Ville d'Alep. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 223. Beyrouth: L'Institut français de Damas, 1933.

An abridged translation of a late compilation is not ordinarily the kind of book that one turns to with any great expectations. M. Sauvaget himself reckons that the work will "lose the greater part of its value when its principal source—Ibn Shaddād's description of Aleppo—has been published". But Ibn Shaddād being for the moment inaccessible, he has enriched this excerpt with the fruits of his unsurpassed knowledge of the monuments of Aleppo, and with the aid of his footnotes has made it yield an unsuspected amount of information, valuable as raw material to the student in many fields and indispensable to an eventual editor of the parent work. The author, however, as is only too common in such compilations, has often been careless in dates and other details, and

these mistakes have not always been corrected by the translator (e.g. on the association of the Ortuqids with Aleppo, pp. 27, 82, and 108; perhaps on p. 82 "Timurtāsh son of" has dropped out before "Il-Ghāzī").

A. 312. H. A. R. GIBB.

A STUDY OF YOGA. By JAJNESWAR GHOSH. 9 × 5¾, pp. iv + 425. Calcutta: Sanatkumar Ghosh, 1934.

Mr. Ghosh's book is divided into the following chapters :—

(1) Scope and spirit of Yoga, describing the relation of Yoga to diverse activities of the human mind;

(2) Self-consciousness and Intelligence, giving a theory of cognition in which Intelligence (the author's English term for the Sanskrit "Puruṣa") is propounded as the absolute principle of experience and knowledge;

(3) The Mind, showing the place of Psychology in Yoga, with a lucid and concise discussion of the chief mental processes,

(4) Nature, dealing with the concepts of space and time, with the guṇas, prakṛti, and karma;

(5) Discipline of Yoga, consisting in means of attainment, intuition, concentration, and contemplation.

Mr Ghosh has succeeded in elucidating the basic facts of Yoga-theory as well as Yoga-practice, in a study of consciousness, leading us from and through ordinary experience and observation to its higher forms which reveal a transcendent, ultimate principle of life. It is on this emphasis of a form of apprehension higher than mere discursive thought that the peculiarity and value of Yoga rests: and the author has brought this out remarkably well in his remarkable work.

Taking it all round the "Study of Yoga" is indeed a comprehensive and fundamental study of the characteristic features of the time-honoured, austere, and profound discipline of Yoga, as of an inborn urge of man's soul to seek and to become one with that part of himself which may fitly be called

the "Oversoul" (Puruṣa, the world-man), not by study and learning and scientific dissection (i.e. destruction, science = scissors), but by aspiration and contemplation and at-one-ment (i.e. creation).

We must pay the author our respects for his achievement.

A. 252. W. STEDE.

THE AGE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS. By R. D. BANERJI. The Manindra Chandra Nandy Lecturer, 1924. 9 × 5½, pp. viii + 250, pls. 41. Benares: Hindu University, 1933.

THE HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA. Extending from the foundation of the Gupta Empire to the rise of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal (*c.* A.D. 320–760). By R. G. BASAK. 9 × 5½, pp. viii + 340, map 1, table 1. London: Kegan Paul, 1934.

The first of these two books includes six lectures delivered at the Benares Hindu University in 1924 and revised for publication by the late Professor Banerji in 1929–1930 just before his death. They summarize the chronology of the Guptas, the system of administration, the religious and literary revival of the period, and the architecture, plastic art, and coinage, with forty-one plates. All these topics are adequately dealt with for lectures of this nature. The Professor accepted entirely the legend first published by Lévi (*J.A.*, 1933) about Rāma Gupta and Chandra Gupta, which was hinted at by the commentator on Bāna's *Harsha Charita*. It may, however, be noted that the story, if it has any historical basis, seems to fit more closely with what is known of Pura Gupta and Skanda Gupta, though the names differ. Professor Banerji's suggestion that Chandra Gupta II killed the last great Kushan ruler at Mathura seems to want adequate foundation.

Professor Basak's book is a more valuable contribution to the history of the period and deals exhaustively with what is known of north-eastern India, from the rise of the Imperial Guptas to the time immediately before the Pāla kings of

Bengal. It thus includes the Maukhari dynasty, the later Guptas of Magadha, Śaśānka, and other rulers of eastern Bengal, Assam, and Nepal, and has a very interesting account of the land revenue administration of the eastern Guptas taken from the Damodarpur plates, first edited by the author. In dealing with Nepal, Dr. Basak suggests fresh readings of the dates and criticizes Lévi's theory of the Lichchhavi era.

It is improbable that Śakraditya, Buddha Gupta, and Tathāgata Gupta mentioned by Yuan Chwang belonged to the main line of Guptas (p. 79), as the Chinese pilgrim distinctly says that the first two lived soon after the Nirvāna, and the connection between Bāladitya and Buddhagupta (p. 78) is also doubtful. If, as stated at p. 33, Vasubandhu was highly honoured by Samudra Gupta (ob. c. 380) it is not likely that his instructor was Buddha Mitra of the Mankuwār inscription of 448 (p. 58).

Dr. Basak holds, differing from most students of the period, including Professor Banerji, that there were three rulers named Kumāra Gupta. He takes the second as a son of Skanda Gupta and the third as a son of Narasimha Gupta Bāladitya. In this view it would have been desirable to have a fuller discussion of Panna Lal's paper on the Daśapura inscription. Dr Basak has tacitly accepted Dikshit's correction of his reading of the date of the fifth Damodarpur plate without acknowledging it, and does not meet his argument that this change probably destroys the theory that it was issued by Bhānū Gupta, or mention Krishna Śāstri's suggestion (*Ep. In.*, xvii, p. 193, n. 1) that the missing name may be Kumāra.

Notwithstanding these criticisms Dr. Basak is to be congratulated on having produced an excellent piece of work. If a second edition is called for the rather numerous misprints not corrected in the errata list require attention, and the confusion in the index of Dharmāditya of E. Bengal with Dharmarāja of Orissa should be corrected.

A.90. A.159 R. Burn.

Mu'nis al-'Ushshaq. The Lovers' Friend. By Shihābu'd-din Suhrawardī Maqtūl. Edited by Otto Spies. Bonner Orientalische Studien, Heft 7. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ii + 23 + 67. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934.

This is an edition of the text of a short allegorical Persian work, together with a scholarly and useful introduction in English; it is a valuable addition to the list of Persian texts which have recently been critically edited and printed. The text is quite short, being only forty-nine pages, more than half of each page consisting of footnotes giving various readings and Qur'ānic references. It is written in simple clear Persian. There are twelve sections (فصل); and section 6, which contains "a treatise on microcosm, i.e. the old philosophical theory that man is conceived as an epitome of the universe", is explained in a commentary by an unknown writer, which has also been printed after the main text. To any one interested in Ṣūfiistic ideas this little book must be a fascinating study, and editors and publishers are to be congratulated on the manner in which they have performed their task. The book is well printed, and I have noticed only three or four minor misprints.

A.333. C. N. Seddon.

Ancient Indian Tribes. Law's Research Series, Pub. No. 1, Vol. II. By Bimala Churn Law. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, vi + 66. London: Luzac & Co., 1934.

This little volume deals with certain Indian tribes mentioned in ancient Sanskrit literature and attempts to locate their early settlements. Commencing with the Vangas, who gave their name to Bengal, we have a series of notes on twenty-two of such tribes, ending with the well-known Niṣādas and Nishadhas whom the author finds to have been distinct in race, in spite of the similarity of their names. According to the writer, the Niṣādas were the modern Bhils of Western and Central India, though this conclusion is apparently at variance with

the code of Manu, wherein a Niṣāda is described as the offspring of a Brahman father and Sudra mother.

The Abhiras, who have long been recognized as the equivalent of the present day Ahirs of Western and Northern India, form to the present day a division of many well-known shepherd tribes retaining the sectional name of Ahir, and are of great importance. The weight of evidence seems to favour the theory that they were early immigrants, possibly from Afghanistan. In the Bombay Presidency Ahir divisions are to be found among Dhangars, Gavlis, Kolis, Kumbhars, Sonars, and Sutars.

Mr. Law's extracts from Sanskrit literature are a valuable contribution to the study of Indian Ethnology. They would benefit by being correlated with the results of present-day research contained in the records of the Ethnographical Survey.

It is to be hoped that the author may pursue the subject further, and supply additional light on the origins of many tribes and castes which at present are the subject of interesting speculation.

A 289. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE TĀRĪKH-I-MUBĀRAKSHĀHĪ. BY YAḤYĀ BIN AHMAD BIN 'ABDULLAH SIRHINDI. Translated from the Persian with textual notes and index by KAMAL KRISHNA BASU. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. lxiii. 9½ × 6, pp. ix + 299. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932. Rs. 7 As. 8.

This book of 299 pages furnishes a translation of a historical work of extreme value. As is pointed out in the foreword contributed by the well-known historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the writer of this history is the sole original contemporary authority for the period 1400–1434. The oldest and also by far the best manuscript of Yaḥyā's history is preserved in the Bodleian Library (M.S. Fraser 150), the colophon showing that the transcription was completed in July, 1550. I have taken advantage of the opportunity of examining this

old manuscript, which is in an excellent state of preservation, and I have in this way satisfied myself that the work of translation has been done on the whole with a praiseworthy degree of accuracy.

Unfortunately there are a great many minor blemishes in the book, which might with the exercise of a little care have been eliminated. There is a huge list of errata covering more than nine pages at the end of the book, but nearly all these corrections relate to mistakes in English or in spelling. In the first place the system of transliteration of Oriental words adopted by the translator is not a good one, and in the second place it has not been applied with any degree of rigidity or consistency. Not only do we find such monstrosities as Sa'iyids (p. 232 and *passim*), mukuddums (l. 9, p. 141), Māhomet (note 2, p. 148), mu'azm (p. 191), rubai'yai (p. 65), but we get such inconsistencies as "Khosrou" (p. 148) and "Khusrū" (*passim*), "Uchch" and "Oocha" on the same page (p. 18), "Jaun" and "Jāūn" for the river Jamuna, "pergunnahs" (p. 190) and "parganas" (p. 222), "Kalinjar" and "Kalanjar" (p. 33) and "Rustum" and "Rustam" (note 6, page 242). The translator's knowledge of Arabic seems to be almost nil, as he states that "iktā' is the plural of kit'", whereas this is not a possible plural form, the word "iqtā'" being a singular noun meaning a feof. The semi-vocalic glide "y" is wrongly omitted in proper names such as Ghiyās and Ziyā, the latter word appearing as Ziā, Zīa, and Zia. Mahobā is said to be the capital of Kālpī, and the latitude and longitude of Kampil in the district of Farrukhābād is given twice (pp. 191 and 207), but the figures given differ and it is not impossible that both are wrong. Dalmū (l. 1, p. 165) seems to be a mistake for Dalmaū, a well-known place on the Ganges in the Rai Bareli district. There are multitudes of errors of this type, which greatly disfigure a book which appears in a series advertised as "edited by competent scholars".

A.384. R. P. DEWHURST.

LES PALAIS ET LES MAISONS D'ÉPOQUE MUSULMANE, AU CAIRE (*Mém. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, tome lxii). By EDMOND PAUTY. 14¼ × 10¾, pp. xii + 92, figs. 43, pls. 63. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut, 1933.

This, the first general work that has appeared on the subject, begins with a chapter on the evolution of the Oriental house. It is followed by a chapter on the palaces and houses of Cairo under the Ṭūlūnids and Fāṭimids (ninth to twelfth centuries) a chapter on those of the period of the Ayyūbids and Bahrite Mamlūks (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), and another on those of the Turkish epoch (after A.D. 1517).

A chapter on old houses illustrated in Napoleon's *Description de l'Égypte*, Pascal Coste's *Architecture Arabe*, and Prisse d'Avennes' *L'Art arabe*, constitutes a very useful feature, for the houses described in these bulky and expensive works are here united and presented in a convenient form, with reduced reproductions of the illustrations. The work closes with a *Catalogue raisonné* of the houses of note that still exist in Cairo, grouped according to quarters and going from north to south.

The author shows that the earliest houses, i.e. those of the Ṭūlūnid period were derived from those of Sāmarrā, in which the ⊥-formed līwān was a regularly recurring feature. But in this connection (p. 28) he confuses the Jausaq al-Khāqānī at Sāmarrā, built by Mu'taṣim in 836, with Balkuwārā (about 6 km. south of Sāmarrā) built by Mutawakkil for his son al-Mu'tazz billāh between A.D. 847 and 861.

He points out that this type of līwān occurs before Islam, but unfortunately cites Ukhaiḍir as a pre-Islamic example. Ukhaiḍir contains a mosque with a concave miḥrāb. However an authentic pre-Islamic example occurs at Qaṣr as-Shīrīn (A.D. 590–628).

Some of the palaces mentioned can be dated much more closely, e.g. that of Manjaq as-Silāḥdār, which is merely put down as fourteenth century (p. 85). This Emīr is called

"the Sword-Bearer" in the inscription. He became sword-bearer in A.H. 747 (1346–7 and was murdered in Ramaḍān 748 (December, 1347). It follows that the palace must have have been finished between A.H. 747 and 748.

There is no index nor "Table de Matières" which is a serious defect, more especially as the page headings uselessly repeat the title of the book, which the reader presumably knows already, instead of indicating the subject dealt with on each page. One cannot help regretting the scanty documentation and the fact that the plates are not arranged, as they should be, in chronological order; as it is, one might suppose that they had been shuffled first and numbered afterwards. Nevertheless this work fills a serious gap and should prove very useful to all interested in the domestic architecture of Islam.

913. K. A. C. CRESWELL.

HIMJARISCHE INSCHRIFTEN IN DEN STAATLICHEN MUSEEN ZU BERLIN. Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen-ägyptischen Gesellschaft. Bd. 37, Heft 1. Ed. by J. H. MORDTMANN and E. MITTWOCH. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. viii + 78, pls. 28. Leipzig: T. G. Hinrichs, 1932. RM. 10.

This extremely valuable work contains fifty-eight inscriptions (not including four "Falsifikate"), nearly all of which are of sufficient length to present points of interest, while not a few yield important additions to our knowledge. Diagrams, and in some cases plates, are given of all. A high tribute of admiration must be paid to the scholarly commentary. With all respect, however, I should like to remark on the following points, where the editors seem to me to be mistaken.

No. 2[2] כלו|צרחו|ותבקלת|ואעמדו|ואעלבן: this they render "die ganze Anpflanzung u. Bewässerung der 'md- u. 'Ilb-bäume" (after Glaser Altjem. Nach. 51), rejecting Rhodokanakis' "die ganze Planierung u. Anpflanzung der

berieselten Plätze u. der 'Ilb-bäume" (*Studien*, iii, 8). They are then forced to remark: "צירן wird ein technischer Ausdruck sein, der sich auf Baumzucht bezieht." But they suggest no derivation as a substitute for that of Rhod. from Radh "acquare, complanare (ut tumulos, salebrosa)," which it seems to me hardly probable to refer to Baumzucht, and I still cling to Rhod.'s rendering, wherein it is to be observed the rhetorical figure لفّ ونشر is to be found, as frequently in the inscriptions (see *WZKM*. 38, 175; 41, 71^{3}).

No. 58: The editors reject Rhod. (*St.*, ii, 39) translation of מצרב as "Altar für Brandopfer", Rijkmans (*Muséon*, xl, 171) "autel sur lequel le sacrifice était consumé", and contend that it is synonymous with the משלם, which Rijk. (ibid.) has shown must be a libation altar, on account of the drainage hollows in the longer sides of Rijk. 4. Their main argument is "die Identität der so bezeichneten Denkmäler in Grösse u. Form". But the occurrences of the term מצרב are mostly not actually on altars at all (e.g. CIH. 337^{9}, Gl. 1209^{9}, 1144^{3} Hal. 353^{10}, Hal. 485^{3}, Gl. 874^{3} = RES. 3401); as for those that are, the drawing of MM. Altsüdarab. Inschr. B 6 (*Orientalia*, ii. 52), shows no trace at all of the Ausgussöffnungen characteristic of the משלם, while it seems to me doubtful whether the single broken away portion of MM Himjarische Inschr. 58, which is apparent in the drawing in Table xx (although in the text *two* are marked !), is actually such a drainage hollow.

Further, "für Schlacht- oder Brandopfer sind sie viel zu klein." But this inscription, which is only a fragment of the whole, has a length of 33 cm., and MM. Altsüdarab. Inschr. B 6 is 63 cm. This seems to me quite an adequate size.

Their last argument does not go at all to show that מצרב and משלם are the same, but only that the מצרב did not serve for burnt offerings; and it is the only argument that seems to me to have any validity. It is that the correct translation of Hal. 353^{10} (wrongly quoted as Hal. 385) is "the mṛrb-altar (made) of clay and the mṛrb-altar (*made*)

of wood," and not, as Rh. (*St.*, ii, 30) renders it: "der Altar für die Myrrhe u. der Altar *für* das wohlriechende Holz," since מרת is shown to be a building material by Gl. 1410 = 1618[6], and probably, as Rh. himself suggests in Kohlan 45, to be equated with መሬት፡ "argilla, calx praeparata". This argument, though not quite conclusive (for מרת could be a different word in the two inscriptions), does cast doubt on the idea of the mṛrb as an altar of burnt offerings, an idea first suggested by Rhod.'s derivation from נִצְרְבוּ and צָרֶבֶת (*St.*, ii, 39).

But an altar which is not used for burnt offerings is not therefore necessarily for libations, and the wide dissimilarity between the מישלם of Rijk. 4 and the מצרב of MMA. B 6 leads me to consider that, whatever the use of the מצרב may have been, it was not the same as the מישלם.

815. A. F. L. BEESTON.

JOINT EXPEDITION WITH THE IRAQ MUSEUM AT NUZI. Mixed Texts. By EDWARD CHIERA. American School of Oriental Research, Vol. V. 11¼ × 8½, pp. 4, pls. 100. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 18*s*.

This volume concludes the publication of the texts found at Yorghan Tepe near Kerkuk and copied by the late Professor Chiera. Some of the texts which it contains belong to categories already known from the previous volumes, such as the tablets of exchange, security, and sale-adoption, loans, letters, declarations in court, and divisions of inheritance (*šimtu*). The volume also contains ten of the twenty texts edited by Chiera and Speiser in *JAOS.*, vol. xlvii. The new types include lists of various kinds, hiring of harvesters, agreements, certain slavery documents, gifts and documents of *makannūtu* and *tirḫātu*. The word *makannūtu* and its concrete *makannū* have occurred before, the former in *Harvard*, i, 17, 6 (in a *martūtu* document), the latter in *Harvard*, ii, 30; and *tirḫātu* is, of course, the familiar betrothal

payment [1]; but these words have not before occurred in the title of a tablet. This further evidence about the *tirḫātu* is especially welcome.

The four *riksu* documents may help to decide the question whether this term is used exclusively in connection with a marriage, as maintained by Koschaker, *Neue Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna Zeit*, pp. 85–6. Three of them are certainly connected with marriages, viz. Nos. 435, 440, and 441, though the last of these refers only to the inferior kind of marriage called *martūtu û kallatūtu*.[2] No. 439, however, though entitled *riksu*, records only the presentation of some land by Naitea to Teḫiptilla as "his *ḳištu*", the wording of the transaction being identical with that of the "gift" document, No. 530, and it seems impossible to connect this in any way with a marriage. Yet it is difficult to say what the nature of this transaction could have been, for the word *ḳištu* is applied elsewhere in these texts only to the compensatory payment made by the adopted son to his adoptive father in the sale-adoption contracts; this payment is made in return for a gift of land as "inheritance", and never consists itself of land.[3] A further difficulty lies in the presence of a penalty for breach of contract in No. 439, and of both this and the eviction clause in No. 530, for these seem inconsistent with a simple gift [4]: they are absent, however, in *Harvard*, ii, No. 30, a somewhat similar document in which *maḳannu* is substituted for *ḳištu*. In any case these documents, and especially the reciprocal "gift" in No. 556 (clearly a sale of land without adoption), prove the existence of privately owned land beside the fief land which was inalienable and so gave rise to the sale-adoption fiction.

One of the most interesting texts is No. 478, the first eight lines of which are here transcribed :—

[1] *Pretium deflorationis*, according to Van der Meer, *Rec. d'Ass.*, xxxi, pp. 121 ff.

[2] This text = Chiera, *JAOS*. xlvii, No. 6, and is referred to by Koschaker, op. cit., p. 85, note 3.

[3] See Koschaker, op. cit., p. 54, note 6.

[4] See Koschaker, op. cit., p. 59, note 3.

1. *um-ma* [I]*Ku-ur-pa-za-aḫ-ma*
2. *mâr Ḫi-il-pí-šu-uḫ*
3. *mâri-ia* [I]*A-kip-til!-la!*
4. *ù ki-ir-pa-an-šu i-na pa-ni*
5. [d]*Šamaš iḫ-te-pu ù*
6. *i-na ilâni*[pl] *ù a-na e-te-im-mi*
7. *iḳlêti*[pl] *ù bîtâti*[pl] [pl] *lā*
8. *i-la-aḳ-ḳa*

Is it possible to suppose that the word *kirpanu* here may be the equivalent of the Hebrew קָרְבָּן, in the sense of a vow of dedication, for the breaking of which Akiptilla is disinherited by his father ?[1]

No. 527, l. 29: 1 [mašak]*iš-pa-tum a-šar ki-in-az-zu kaspam uḫ-ḫu-zu*: "One leathern quiver, the place for a whip, overlaid with silver," seems to refer to the receptacle attached to the chariot-rail in front of the driver's platform in certain model chariots found at Kish and now in the Ashmolean Museum.

The slavery documents number twenty-one in all, and in thirteen of them the slave is designated [amēl]*ḫa-bi-ru*(-*ú*). The great historical importance of the evidence provided by the names of these individuals for the elucidation of the "Habiru problem" has already been recognized. These names are generally held to prove that whatever else the word *ḫabiru* may have denoted,[2] it was not the proper name of a tribe. The names had already been published and discussed by Chiera in *AJSL.*, vol. xlix, consequently the publication of the texts themselves adds little to the evidence previously available.

The use of the volume is considerably facilitated by the inclusion of a table stating the class to which each text belongs.

A. 372. O. R. GURNEY.

[1] The reviewer owes this suggestion to Professor Langdon.

[2] There is still a keen controversy. See most recently A. Alt, *Berichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Bd. 86, Heft 1, pp. 18–22; Speiser, *AASOR.*, vol. xiii, 33 ff.

Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwen. By Thorkild Jacobson and Seton Lloyd. (Univ. of Chicago, Or. Institute Publications, vol. xxiv.) Chicago, 1935. (Cambridge University Press.) 4to, pp. xii + 52, with frontispiece, pls. i–xxxvi, and text-diagrams. Price 22*s*. 6*d*. net.

The happy find of a mural inscription *in situ* identified the "causeway" noted by Layard and by King below the rock sculptures at Bavian with a bridge built by Sennacherib to carry his aqueduct from the Gomel gorge across the plain to Nineveh. This unique monument of early engineering crossed the Gomel river on five corbel-vaulted spans, of which the jambs of two remain, and parts of the paving and parapet of the channel, which is more than 280 metres long, and 22 metres wide without its buttresses. The masonry is fine squared ashlar, on which the cuneiform record of its building is cut. The water was collected from the side of the gorge, where its tunnelled and rock-cut course can be traced, below the famous sculptures, till it debouches at a right angle onto the aqueduct.

As the villagers here were Yezidis, there was opportunity for typical photographs and some interesting anthropological notes.

A. 493. J. L. Myres.

The Glories of Hindustan. By Dr. E. A. Nawrath. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xv + 240; 240 pls. and sketch map. London: Methuen and Co., 1935. 25*s*.

This is a "book of pictures", Dr. Nawrath tells us, compiled for the general public and not addressed to the specialist. It is a series of views taken by the author in the course of an extensive tour, exhibiting, besides a few landscapes, most of the finest examples of Hindu, Buddhist, and Muhammadan architecture and sculpture in Northern India, from the Khaibar Pass to Orissa and from Kashmīr to Bombay. The sites and monuments have been selected with discernment,

the photographs, of exceptional technical merit in themselves, have been admirably reproduced in photogravure; and the brief descriptions which face each plate give the information required in a popular work of this kind.

A. 538. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

GALLETTI'S TELUGU DICTIONARY. A Dictionary of Current Telugu. By A. GALLETTI DI CADILHAC. 7½ × 5¼, pp. xvii + 434, 1 map, pls. 8. London: Oxford University Press, 1935. 30s.

This artistically bound little volume looks more like a book of poems than a dictionary. It is arranged as a Telugu-English manual of words in common use, and begins with a short dissertation on the vagaries of the former tongue. It ends with a useful appendix of familiar English phrases, with their nearest Telugu equivalent, and a map to illustrate the distribution of the Telugu population.

A. 508. ED.

THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR OF ASOKA.—The statement on p. 700 of this JOURNAL for October, 1935, that John Finch visited Allahabad in A.D. 1611, should not pass unquestioned. As his published diary shows, William (*not* John) Finch was buying indigo at Bayāna at the end of 1610, and in January, 1611, he left Agra for Lahore, whence he travelled to Baghdad. Sir William Foster has explained (*Early Travels in India*, p. 123) that the information given by Finch regarding Allahabad and other places east of Agra must have been collected during his stay in the latter city; it is hearsay evidence, and not to be compared with his account of the buildings in Delhi, which he visited; and the argument based on his supposed talks with workmen in the fort thus falls to the ground.

W. H. MORELAND.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 346 STRAND, W.C. 2.

The number for 23rd November, 1935, contains an illustrated article on *Tapping a New Archæological Source in North Syria*, being a description of the first discoveries at Chagar Bazar, in the Habur region: a mound containing remains of fifteen superimposed settlements yielding art relics dating from about 4000 to 1500 B.C., including what is thought to be the earliest known cylinder seal. The same number illustrates Her Majesty's gracious loan to the Chinese Art Exhibition.

The following number describes, with a wealth of illustration, some of the other exquisite treasures lent to the Exhibition including Jades, Brocades, Porcelain, Paintings, and Bronzes. The finds at Shang-Yin (*c.* 1766–1122 B.C.) show an artistic merit demanding a long period and high level of previous culture and progress.

The number for 14th December, 1935, describes the bequest from the late Lord Ampthill, of a collection of Bronzes bequeathed to this country and placed on view in the India Museum (Victoria and Albert) at Kensington. The presentation of Siva Nataraja dancing his cosmic dance surrounded by the nimbus of the manifested universe is particularly attractive.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes:—

ONE HUNDRED YEARS' HISTORY OF THE CHINESE IN SINGAPORE. By SONG ONG SIANG. London: John Murray, 1923.

A BOOK OF BATTLES THAT DETERMINED THE COURSE OF CIVILIZATION. By G. P. BAKER. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1935. 16s.

IMMANUEL KANT OR PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL. By HUMAYUN KABIR. Calcutta: University Press, 1935.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor Jarl Charpentier

The news of the sudden death of Professor Charpentier on 5th July, 1935, came as a shock to his friends in this country who were looking forward to his usual visit during the Long Vacation. He was here for the last time in September and October, 1934; and, although he had evidently not fully recovered from a long and trying illness earlier in the year, there seemed to be every prospect of his ultimate restoration to health and strength. *Dis aliter visum.* The world has lost one of its most learned Oriental scholars; and those who knew him well miss a warm-hearted and a constant friend.

Jarl Hellen Robert Toussaint Charpentier was born on 17th December, 1884. His father was a Major in the Swedish army, and his mother belonged to the family which has given to Sweden one of its most distinguished historians, Erik Gustaf Geijer. As a boy, Charpentier was educated at the Latin Grammar School of Gothenburg, where the foundations were laid for his unusually extensive and exact knowledge of the classical literatures of Greece and Rome. In 1902 he entered the University of Uppsala, where he was attracted to Oriental studies through the medium of comparative philology. His teacher was Professor K. F. Johansson, the University Professor of Sanskrit and the Comparative Philology of the Indo-European Languages. Another of his teachers was Professor Jacobi, with whom he studied at Bonn before completing his University course at Uppsala. He never failed to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which he owed to the inspiration of these two great scholars.

In 1908 he proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Uppsala and was at once appointed Assistant Professor. He became Deputy Professor on Professor Johansson's retirement in 1925, and succeeded him as Professor in 1927.

For his inauguration as doctor, Charpentier presented his thesis on *Paccekabuddhageschichten*—the first of a series of *Studien zur indischen Erzählungsliteratur* which was continued in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society for the years 1908, 1910, and 1912.

His earliest contributions to learned periodicals are philological and are devoted to the Lithuanian and Balto-Slavic languages. From the date of their appearance (1906) until the present year the stream of his publications is continuous. The long list of his works, great and small, which is given in the *Upsala Universitets Matrikel* for the year 1926, contains about seventy entries; and if the list were completed that number would be very considerably increased. It includes works written in Swedish, French, German, and English, and dealing with a great variety of subjects, such as the etymology and structure of the various Indo-European languages, the mythology of the Veda and Avesta, the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and literatures, the religious and political history of ancient and mediaeval India, the accounts given of ancient and mediaeval India by Western writers, etc. It must suffice here to mention a few only of the more important of these: *Die Desiderativbildungen der indo-iranischen Sprachen* (1912); *Die Suparṇasage: Untersuchungen zur altindischen Literatur und Sagengeschichte* (1920–2); the *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*, being the first Mūlasūtra of the Śvetāmbara Jains, edited with an introduction, critical notes, and a commentary (1921–2); *Brahman, eine sprachwissenschaftlich - exegetisch - religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (1932); Fenicio's *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*: Portuguese text with Malayālam verses, edited with an introduction and notes in English (1932–3); the *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (1934). Probably the latest of his publications is the article on "William of Rubruck and Roger Bacon" in the complimentary volume of the *Geografiska Annaler* (1935) dedicated to his friend Sven Hedin.

The chief characteristic of Charpentier's work is perhaps its thoroughness: the reader is left with the impression that he had mastered his subject from beginning to end in all its details. He had a most retentive memory from which nothing seemed to escape. His bibliographical introductions are admirable in their fullness.

He was an omnivorous reader and was interested in many things. In ordinary conversation he would often surprise his English hearers by his intimate acquaintance with English history and literature or by his knowledge of the politics of the present day.

17. E. J. RAPSON.

James Henry Breasted

Death has laid a heavy hand on Egyptology during the last two years. There have passed from amongst us in this country, Weigall, Peet, Griffith, Hunt, Budge, and Quibell; in Germany, Sethe and Wreszinski; in Holland, Boeser. And now to this list we have to add the name of the doyen of American Orientalists, Breasted.

James Henry Breasted, the son of Charles and Harriet (*née* Garrison) Breasted, was born at Rockford, Illinois, 27th August, 1865. He was educated at the North Central College, Chicago Theological Seminary, and Yale University. Having early manifested a deep interest in ancient Oriental history, and especially that of Egypt, he proceeded to Berlin University, where he studied Egyptology under Erman. His first Egyptological publication, giving manifest promise of a brilliant career, was his doctorial thesis, for the subject of which he chose the so-called monotheistic hymns of Amarna, composed in the reign of the heretic king Amenophis IV—Akhenaten (*De Hymnis in Solem sub rege Amenophide conceptis*, Berlin, 1894). In the same year Breasted rendered a great service to all English-speaking students by publishing an English translation of Erman's

Aegyptische Grammatik, in which were embodied the results of that scholar's intensive studies of the structure of the ancient language of Egypt—studies that established a radically new conception of its nature. Erman's brilliant demonstrations have formed the basis of Egyptian grammar and syntax as it is to-day universally understood and accepted, and the younger generation of Egyptologists can scarcely conceive the opposition which was raised against Erman's thesis by those who had been schooled in the older methods of study. Erman indeed, like all pioneers, had reason to see the force of the utterance of John Locke, made in 1690, that " new opinions are always suspected and usually opposed without any other reason but because they are not already common ", or, as the translators of the Authorized Version had said in 1611, "was there anything projected, that savoured in any way of newness or renewing, but the same endured many a storm of gainsaying or opposition ? " These facts are worth recalling, because and Breasted's translation was the means of making Erman's conception of the Egyptian language, and the logical basis on which his views were founded, far more widely known than could have been the case had they been available in the German edition alone. Breasted had the advantage of being trained in the new system, and he turned this advantage, aided by his native aptitude and vigorous energy, to good account. On the completion of his studies he was appointed an assistant in Egyptology at the University of Chicago ; in 1901 he was made director of the Haskell Museum, and in 1905 he was nominated to the chair of Egyptology at Chicago University.

Meanwhile under the auspices of the academies of Germany, the Egyptian Dictionary had been inaugurated, and scholars of all nations readily co-operated, each in his own particular sphere, in amassing the material for this great undertaking, which has in recent years materialized in the publication of the *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* in five stout volumes (1926–1931). For this work Breasted undertook the historical

texts, and in 1900 he began a long mission to the museums of Europe, where he copied, collated, and revised many hundreds of stelae and other hieroglyphic texts. The benefits of his prolonged labours were threefold: first, the dictionary benefited by the lexicographical material; secondly, Breasted being provided with reliable copies of inscriptions, was enabled to write his *History of Egypt* (1st ed., 1905) from first-hand and authentic sources; and thirdly, with these stores of texts, he undertook the publication of English translations of all the historical texts from the earliest times to the end of the 26th Dynasty. These translations appeared in chronological order in his *Ancient Records of Egypt* (5 vols., 1906–7). Breasted's *History* (later editions, 1919 and 1921) has become the standard work on the subject, and it has the advantage of covering the ground thoroughly in a single volume. Although Egypt was his first and most persistent love, Breasted realized that that country was but a single unit in the ancient history of the Near East, and he soon extended his reading and studies to cover the wider field. As a result he has given us several charmingly written books, at once scholarly and popular, amongst which may be mentioned *Ancient Times* (1916) and *A Survey of the Ancient World* (1919). His attention was not limited to history, however; religion and mythology were studies of equal devotion, and in 1912 appeared his *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. Previous writings on Egyptian religion had been based almost entirely on the so-called "Book of the Dead": Breasted showed that it is necessary to go back farther in time, and he emphasized the importance of the "Pyramid Texts" of the Old Kingdom and the "Coffin Texts" of the Middle Kingdom as the forerunners of the "Book of the Dead", which became popular in the New Kingdom and later times. He returned to similar studies towards the close of his life, when he published, in collaboration with J. H. Robinson, the *Dawn of Conscience* (1933).

Breasted's writings are too numerous to be surveyed here

in detail, but brief mention must be made of one or two more. In his "Philosophy of a Memphite Priest" (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache*, 39, 1901, 39–54), he made an important contribution to the understanding of a difficult text which has since occupied the attention of Erman, Sethe, and other scholars; his "New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III" (Sethe's *Untersuchungen*, ii, 1900) shows his enterprise and resource in interpreting an obscure episode in history; and his "Battle of Kadesh" (*Chicago Decennial Publications*, v, 1904, 81–126) is a masterly analysis and reconstruction of an ancient feat of military strategy. And, finally, in his great edition of the *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* (1930), he brought his full powers of scholarship and exposition to bear in the elucidation of an important medical text.

Important as Breasted's published works have been and will long remain in the literature of Egyptology they did not constitute by any means the whole of his activities, and he will always be remembered as the organizer and director of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. In planning the activities of this organization Breasted was a megalomaniac, but a fortunate megalomaniac who saw the realization of his far-flung schemes. The purpose of the Institute as he conceived it is well expressed in the opening paragraph of the *Report* for 1935: "The Oriental Institute is a research laboratory for the investigation of the early human career. It endeavours to trace the course of human development from the merely physical man disclosed by the palæontologist to the rise and early advance of civilized societies, the product of a social and material evolution culminating in social idealism." To give effect to this conception Breasted organized an archæological mission of extraordinary scope, maintaining expeditions in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Asia Minor. Bodies of trained workers have carried out explorations in all these countries and their activities and results are attested by the numerous publications of the Institute. Epigraphic surveys have been organized to record

the inscriptions of the monuments of Egypt and elsewhere and to copy frescos, paintings, and other ancient works of art. One of the most important of the Institute's works was to compile a dictionary of Assyrian Cuneiform. The needs of hieroglyphic scholars have been met by the Berlin *Wörterbuch*, and those of Coptic by Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*, now in course of publication ; but Cuneiform scholars have hitherto been entirely without such aid. Breasted, whose aim was always to fill up gaps in the equipment of Oriental studies, set this great undertaking in motion in 1921, securing the services of the able scholar, Daniel David Luckenbill, who unfortunately died in 1927. Luckenbill had initiated the project and had carried it forward with great energy, and had likewise published two further volumes of Breasted's *Ancient Records* series, containing the historical records of Assyria. In the hands of his successors the Assyrian dictionary continues to make solid progress. Another gap was perceived by Breasted in that the extensive and important religious texts of the Middle Kingdom, the so-called " Coffin Texts ", mostly unpublished, required collecting and editing. He himself, in conjunction with Dr. Alan Gardiner and others, did much in the labour of collecting and collating these texts, and he arranged that the Institute should publish a complete corpus of them, under the editorship of Drs. De Buck and Gardiner. The first volume of this elaborate edition will soon appear, and others will follow in due course. The foregoing are only a few of the many branches of the Institute's activities : for a full appreciation of its wide scope the reader must consult the Annual Reports, in which the ability and initiative of Breasted are everywhere apparent. His energy was unbounded both at home and abroad ; he constantly visited Europe and the East and has done much actual field-work.

Breasted was honoured by all the principal universities, academies, and learned societies of Europe and America, and the list of his diplomas and appointments is a long one.

He was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1923. Of his personal kindness and charm his colleagues have given ample testimony, and of his abilities as a scholar and an organizer his own publications and the thriving Oriental Institute are lasting memorials. His death occurred in the Medical Centre Hospital at Chicago on the 2nd December, 1935, as the result of streptoccocal infection, in the 71st year of his age.

20. WARREN R. DAWSON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Neolithic Art at Jericho

On 18th October, 1935, Professor John Garstang gave a lecture at the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society on "Neolithic Art at Jericho", as brought to light by the excavations which he directed last winter.

The object of the fifth expedition to ancient Jericho was the exploration of the lowest levels of the Bronze Age representing the history of the site during the thousand years before the traditional epoch of the patriarch Abraham. This object was happily accomplished, with the result of establishing by scientific methods the series of pottery of this little known period. It would seem that Canaan was already being reunited by a common culture about 2500 B.C.

This research brought the excavators to a level seven metres below the surface, where it was hoped virgin soil would be reached. At this point, however, a Chalcolithic level was disclosed, which marks for the time being the origins of civilization in Palestine and joins the Bronze Age with the Stone Age. But this was only the beginning of a series of unsuspected discoveries which revealed in the lowest levels the presence of an even older civilization, representing in Palestine the European Neolithic period. Remarkable clay statues, pottery with resemblances to that of Thessaly in Ancient Greece, superposed house floors with a whole series of stone objects and flint implements gave evidence of the occupation of the site of Jericho before that of any other city of the Stone Age in Palestine, and showed that there was an area still to be excavated from a depth of 7 to 14 metres under the historic site. Thus, for the time being, Jericho seems to be the most ancient city in Palestine.

The expedition was financed by Sir Charles Marston, who

has generously supported the work from the start, with the collaboration of the Musées du Louvre and the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen.

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The Art of the Chinese Painter

Miss Helen Fernald, late Curator of Far Eastern Art at the University Museum of Philadelphia, discussed the art of the Chinese painter in a lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society on 5th December, 1935.

There are many ways of approach to Chinese painting, the historical, the philosophic, the romantic, and the scientific are a few. All have value, but to the artist all are secondary in importance to the purely artistic approach. To him the burning questions are "*how* does he (the Chinese artist) say this", and "*why* does he choose this method"? Artists have ways of speaking to each other down the centuries, across barriers of time, of race, of geography, of speech. Their language consists of arrangements of spaces, the rhythm of lines, the balancing of dark and light areas, the handling of colour. The strokes of the brush on silk or paper reveal to them the mind of the painter as surely as does the touch of a musician's fingers on the piano.

The basic element in Chinese painting is the brush stroke. Few foreigners understand its great significance. It was expressive beyond anything we have known in our art. A fundamental concept of the Chinese, going back to the very dawn of history, was that through all nature there runs a great spiritual rhythm, through man, animals, plants, clouds, water, and even mountains and stones. Each thing had its own subsidiary rhythm but it must fit into and harmonize with the others so that (as *we* would express it) all became part of one great symphony. In painting and calligraphy, too, the first aim was to express this "life-movement of the spirit through the rhythm of things", and it was to be done by

means of the brush stroke. The vertical brush, the oblique brush, the dry brush, each had its part to do in expressing this.

The growth of landscape painting and its development under Zen influence was but another story of the attempt to feel and express these hidden rhythms of the universe. Chinese rules of compositions, of perspective, even of portraiture, were formulated with this in mind. This constant striving for spiritual insight into the underlying reality of things resulted in a highly spiritual art, an art which has given the world a revelation of beauty which is universal.

The Temples of Yunnan

A description of these wonderful buildings was given by Madame Gabrielle Vassal, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, in a lecture before the Society on 12th December, 1935.

Yunnan is the most southerly province of China and the furthest away from the seat of government at Pekin. The central tableland upon which lies the capital, Yunnanfu, is shut in by high mountains and deep valleys, which make access very difficult. Consequently it has been independent for long periods and has suffered from numberless civil and religious wars. But in spite of revolution and massacre many remarkable monuments have been preserved.

Temple and pagoda of every style and period make Yunnanfu, a holy town, and it is well worth the attention of tourist as well as archæologist. In 1910 the French gave Yunnan an outlet to the sea by means of a railway running from Laokay to Yunnanfu, about 300 miles. It joins their own railway through Tongking to Haiphong.

Among the most wonderful of the Chinese temples in the city are the two tall seventh century pagodas, called "The Towers of Victory". They are, like those at Sian Fu, reproduction of still older wooden pagodas. Within the walls stand also the *Rock* Pagoda, A.D. 649; the *White Tower* Pagoda, A.D. 1280; the *Fish* Pagoda; the *Ox* Pagoda, and

the sumptuous temple in honour of Confucius, thirteenth century. There are also many other temples situated outside the walls: the *Copper* Temple, seventeenth century, which is a very artistic building and built throughout of copper; the modern *Temple of* 500 *Genii*, as well as *Hei-long-than* Temple, with its garden and the *Si Chan* Pagodas, which are scattered about the mountain-side overlooking the beautiful lake of Yunnanfu.

All these temples and pagodas, be they Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucianist, are good examples of pure Chinese art. At Yunnanfu there exist also the remains of Indian temples of the thirteenth century, and some Lamaistic shrines. While in the north of the province there are other lamaseries of the Tibetan Buddhist faith, where the services are still rendered by lamas and where living oracles (" sung ma ") are consulted.

Lidzbarski Trust

At the Oriental Congress held in Rome on 23rd–29th September, Professor P. Kahle of Bonn University made the following announcement: Professor Mark Lidzbarski, well known as an authority on N. Semitic Epigraphy and Mandaic literature, who died in 1928, left by his will a sum of money sufficient to provide a prize of 5,000 gold marks to be awarded for some extensive work dealing with Semitics, especially archæology and the science of religion, the subject of such work to be announced at every second international Congress of Orientalists, and the prize awarded at the following Congress.

He desired that a Committee for the choice of subjects and assignation of the prize should consist of four persons, of whom the German and the American Oriental Societies, the French Société Asiatique, and the R.A.S. should each appoint one. Administration of the Trust was to be in the hands of the Prussian Kultusministerium, which commissioned Professor Kahle, as manager of the D.M.G., to approach the other Societies. That Society appointed Professor Enno Littmann of Tübingen to serve on the Committee; the S.A.,

Mons. R. Dussaud, Membre de l'Institut; the American O.S., Professor Ch. Torrey of Yale University; and the R.A.S., Professor D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford.

It was further desired in the will that at those Congresses at which no prize was awarded, a medal should be presented to some Orientalist of special merit.

In accordance with this latter provision, at the recommendation of the Committee, a medal executed by Karl Dauert of Berlin, and bearing on the obverse the head of Lidzbarski with the legend MARK LIDZBARSKI 1868–1928 and on the reverse LIDZBARSKI-MEDAILLE VERLIEHEN AN NIKOLAUS RHODOKANAKIS AUF DEM XIX. INTERNATIONALEN ORIENTALISTENKONGRESS SEPTEMBER 1935 ROM was awarded to Professor N. Rhodokanakis of Graz University.

The subject selected for a prize composition is "The Additions to our Knowledge of the Aramaic Dialects since the publications of Theodor Nöldeke".

Competitors should send in their works to the Geschäftsführer of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft not later than six months before the next International Congress of Orientalists.

Notices

Copies of every article published in the *Journal* are available for purchase at the time of publication. In the case of a few of the older *Journals* the copies of certain articles are sold out, but in most cases they are still obtainable. The cost varies in accordance with the number of pages and plates; the average price is about 1*s*. 6*d*. each.

Will Library Subscribers whose subscriptions are paid through agents and who desire that their names should appear in the List of Members for next year kindly send their names to the Secretary, either direct or through their agent, before 1st April.

As it has been found necessary, owing to the financial situation, to reduce the number of pages in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* for the present, the space available for reviews of books has been proportionately restricted, and the Editor regrets that he is unable to publish a review of every book presented to the Library of the Society.

Dr. and Mrs. H. G. Quaritch Wales have left England to resume their excavations of the early Indian sites in Siam, under the auspices of the Greater-Indian Research Committee.

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TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

TOGETHER WITH

NOTES ON CHINESE AND JAPANESE

THE system of Transliteration of the former, as shown in the Tables given within, is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	*a*
आ	*ā*
इ	*i*
ई	*ī*
उ	*u*
ऊ	*ū*
ऋ	*ṛ* or *r̥*
ॠ	*ṝ* or *r̥̄*
ऌ	*ḷ* or *l̥*
ॡ	*ḹ* or *l̥̄*
ए	*e* or *ē*
ऐ	*ai*
ओ	*o* or *ō*
औ	*au*
क	*ka*
ख	*kha*
ग	*ga*
घ	*gha*
ङ	*ṅa*
च	*ca* or *c̲h̲a* [1]
छ	*cha* or *c̲h̲ha* [1]
ज	*ja*
झ	*jha*
ञ	*ña*
ट	*ṭa*
ठ	*ṭha*
ड	*ḍa*
ढ	*ḍha*
ण	*ṇa*
त	*ta*
थ	*tha*
द	*da*

[1] In modern Indian languages only.

ध . . .	*dha*
न . . .	*na*
प . . .	*pa*
फ . . .	*pha*
ब . . .	*ba*
भ . . .	*bha*
म . . .	*ma*
य . . .	*ya*
र . . .	*ra*
ल . . .	*la*
व . . .	*va*
श . . .	*śa*
ष . . .	*ṣa*
स . . .	*sa*
ह . . .	*ha*
ळ . . .	*ḻa* or *ḷa*
ं (*Anusvāra*) .	*ṁ* } or ˜
ँ (*Anunāsika*) .	*m̐* }
ः (*visarga*) . .	*ḥ*
× (*jihvāmūlīya*) .	*ẖ*
ᳵ (*upadhmānīya*)	*ḫ*
ऽ (*avagraha*) .	'
Udātta . .	´
Svarita . .	ˆ
Anudātta . .	`

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़ . . .	*ṛa*
ढ़ . . .	*ṛha*

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ˜, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-g͟hunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus अँ *ã*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word to be omitted; hamza elsewhere ʼ
or alternatively, hamza may be represented by ٴ or ٕ

ب	b	ط	ṭ or ṭ [1]
ت	t	ظ	ẓ or ẓ [1]
ث	ṯ or th	ع	ʿ
ج	j or dj [1]	غ	ġ or gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	ḫ or kh	ق	q
د	d	ک	k
ذ	ḏ or dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	و	w or v
ش	š or sh	ه	h
ص	ṣ	ة	t or ḥ
ض	ḍ	ي	y

vowels َ a, ِ i, ُ u

lengthened َا ā, ِي ī, ُو ū

also ē and ō in Indian dialects, ü and ö in Turkish
Alif maqṣūrah may be represented by ą̄
diphthongs َيْ ay and َوْ aw, or َيْ ai and َوْ au respectively
Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized ṣ for ث, ẕ for ذ, and ẓ for ض

waṣla ʼ

[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of dj for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by ṭ or ظ by ẓ, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بندہ *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناہ *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

پ	*p*
چ	*ç*, *c*, or *ch*
ژ	*ẓ* or *zh*
گ	*g*

Turkish letters.

ک	when pronounced as *y*, *ḳ* is permitted
ڭ	*ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

ٹ or ټ	*ṭ*
ڈ or ډ	*ḍ*
ڑ or ړ	*ṛ*
ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*)	˜ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Paṣhtō letters.

څ	*ṡ*, *ż*, *ts* or *dz*
ږ	*ẓh* or *g* (according to dialect)
ڼ	*ṇ*
ښ	*ṣh* or *kh* (according to dialect)

HEBREW

א	ا = ʼ	ד	د = *d*
בּ	ب = *b*	ד	ذ = *ḏ*
ב	= *ḇ*	ה	ہ = *h*
גּ	ج = ʻ*g* or *j*	ו	و = *w*
ג	= *g*	ז	ز = *z*

Hebrew	Arabic		Hebrew	Arabic
ח	ح = ḥ			غ = ġ (or ṛ)
	خ = ḫ		פ	= p
ט	ط = ṭ		פ	ف = f
	ظ = ẓ		צ	ص = ṣ
י	ي = y			ض = ḍ
כ	ك = k		ק	ق = ḳ or q
כ	= ḵ		ר	ر = r
ל	ل = l		שׁ	ش = š
מ	م = m		שׂ	= ś
נ	ن = n		ת	ت = t
ס	س = s		ת	ث = ṯ
ע	ع = ʿ			

CHINESE AND JAPANESE

For Chinese the use of the Wade system is requested, and for Japanese that of the Rōmaji-kwai (Romanization Society).

Authors and Reviewers who use Oriental names, words, or quotations in the text of their writings for the JOURNAL are requested, as a convenience for the general reader, to append a translation (into English) of all quotations and also a transliteration of all names or single words.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1936

PART II.—APRIL

Hindi Folk-Songs

BY A. G. SHIRREFF

PANDIT RAM NARESH TRIPATHI. Kavita Kaumudi, Part V, *Gram Git.* Published by Hindi Mandir, Allahabad.

SIR G. A. GRIERSON. "Some Bihari Folk-songs" (*JRAS.*, Vol. XVI, p. 196).

SIR G. A. GRIERSON. "Some Bhojpuri Folk-songs" (*JRAS.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 207).

JOGENDRA NATH RAE. "Baiswari Folk-songs" (*JASB.*, 1884, p. 232).

SOME ten years ago a Brahman scholar was travelling by rail from Jaunpur to Allahabad. At a country station there was an incident familiar in those parts: a number of women crowded the platform, weeping and bidding farewell to their men-folk, who were going to Calcutta to find work. Two or three of the women got into the carriage with their husbands, and, as the journey continued, began a song. One line of this made a great impression on the Pandit. "The railway, my rival, has carried away my beloved." A bold metaphor. In the poetry to which he was accustomed, the rival wife with her interference would be compared to the swan with its mythical power of dividing milk from water. But, after all, was not the railway simile much more natural and vigorous? The swan simile was part of the stock in trade of centuries of poets, and required a special education and tradition for its understanding. The railway simile spoke from the heart to the heart.

This incident (as he has described it) was the turning point in the literary life of Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi, who had already made his mark as the editor of a scholarly library of selections from Sanskrit, Hindi, and Urdu literature (the first four volumes of his Kavita Kaumudi). He had known the folk-songs of the Eastern districts of the United Provinces from his childhood, but only as a subject for ridicule. They offended against the laws of prosody and grammar; they were composed by low caste and illiterate persons for their like, and, what was even worse, by women for women. But now he realized that they were real poetry, and, with the zeal of a convert, he set to work to study and collect them. For four years he toured in the villages of Benares, Azamgarh, Ballia, Ghazipur, and Jaunpur, spending (in his own words) more time, health, and wealth than he could afford, and gaining in exchange between ten and twelve thousand songs and a priceless experience of village life.

The result is a very remarkable book, the *Gram Git*, in which he has edited a selection of about 300 songs, those which appealed to him most as poetry or folk-lore. In an interesting introduction he describes his song-pilgrimage; we see him sitting beneath his umbrella on the knife-edge boundary of a rice field, scribbling notes of the songs sung by the weeding women, and sometimes, in the excitement of capturing a fresh lay, toppling over into the mud and slush below him. Or again standing, like Jonathan Oldbuck, outside a Chamar's cottage to record a ballad of love and chivalry recited by an aged crone. The strange phenomenon of a Brahman gentleman spending his time in such pursuits received different interpretations; he was an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department, a fugitive from justice, or a town Lothario bent on village intrigue.

The songs are arranged in classes according to the occasions on which they are sung, and they are accompanied by workman-like renderings in simple Hindi prose. The metre is rough and ready, but the language itself (Eastern Hindi)

is musical and expressive: it is a language which calls a spade a spade in the sense that there is one word for each material object, each action or each sentiment described, and that word is the right one, which is to say that this is folk-poetry, and folk-poetry at its best. The songs are natural and dramatic, and abound in pathos and humour, in romance and tragedy. Again and again, in reading them, one is struck by resemblances to the folk-poetry of other countries. Now it is Annie Laurie (before Burns improved her) :—

"She's backit like the peacock; she's breistit like the swan,"—except that the Indian Annie[1] has a nose like a parrot's beak and fingers like bunches of bananas—which are just as beautiful no doubt. Or we have what is almost a translation of that most dainty of German folk-songs, "Und schau ich hin, so schaust du her: Das macht mein Herz so schwer, so schwer," in "Main chitawati tu chitawat nahin rahi rahi ji ghabrae."[2] Or we hear an echo of "Edward, Edward!" in the tragedy of the brother's murder, "Why does your brand sae drip wi' bluid?" To which the Indian Edward replies, much as his Scots prototype did, "I have killed a roedeer."[3]

Pandit Ram Naresh is not actually the first in the field. Fifty years ago Sir George Grierson (then Magistrate of Patna) collected a number of similar songs, as sung in the neighbouring districts of Bihar, which he published in the two articles referred to in the heading. For a full account of the language and metre of these songs, of the classes into which they are divided, and the occasions on which they are sung, the reader should refer to these articles. But it was Pandit Ram Naresh who first brought to the attention of his fellow countrymen the wealth of poetry which they possess in these songs—poetry which he boldly prefers to that of Valmiki, of Kalidasa, even of Tulsi Das himself. His work may have far-reaching

[1] *Gram Git*, p. 77. [2] *Gram Git*, p. 471. [3] *Gram Git*, p. 264.

results on Hindi poetry, as Percy's Reliques and the rediscovery of the Scots ballads and songs had on English poetry in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In the translations which follow, my aim has been to give as accurate a rendering as possible in a form which may remind English readers of folk poetry with which they are more familiar. In some cases I have omitted a verse or two, but there was seldom any occasion for this, as the songs are remarkable for a brevity which is rare in Hindi narrative poetry. Here, for instance, is a masterpiece of compactness, a complete tragi-comedy of real life in four lines :—

> [1] Black, black horse : Handsome rider (such as) sets up his standard in Kurukshetra.
> The mother opens the window and sees him—" Would I had ten more daughters."
> The wedding finished : the vermilion line on head : dower of nine lakhs too little :
> She throws all the vessels out of the house—" I would not that my enemy had a daughter ! "

The ballad which follows [2] calls to mind " The Three Ravens " (the tenderer English version of the " Twa Corbies ") in which the " fallow deer " bears home the body of the slain knight.

THE FAITHFUL DOE

A green tree stands in the fair forest
  Wi' leaves sae thick and fine O.
Beneath it lies a bonny doe
  In mickle dule and pine O.

A bonny roe deer is grazing by :
  " My love, what gars you greet O ?
Oh do ye lack for the green pasture
  Or for the water sweet O ? "

[1] *Gram Git*, p. 152. Wedding Song 12.
[2] *Gram Git*, p. 48. Birth Song 25.

"I do not lack for the green pasture
Nor for the water clear O,
But oh, my love, 'tis for your life
I am in deadly fear O.

"A week sinsyne a Prince was born,
This day will the name-day be O,
And for the feast in the King's palace
I fear me ye maun dee O."

The Queen was sitting upon her stule
All in her bower sae fair O,
When in there came the bonny wee doe
And meekly made her prayer O.

A boon, A boon my lady Queen,
I crave a boon of thee O;
They are seething venison in thy kitchen;
The hide pray give to me O.

"I will hang the hide uptil a bough
All in the forest fair O,
And aye as I see it my heart will think
My bonny roe deer is there O."

"Awa, awa, ye silly doe!
Ye's get no hide frae me O.
My babe maun hae a bonny drum
To play sae merrily O."

Whene'er she hears the sound of the drum
All in the forest fair O,
The bonny wee doe thinks on her love
And sighs and sobs sae sair O.

In the original, the Queen is Kausilya and her baby is Rama. Divine and legendary persons are treated in these ballads as ordinary human beings, much as in our medieval carols and nativity plays. The ballads in fact go further, and introduce any representative husband and wife as Rama and Sita, any father-in-law as Dasrath, and so forth.

Here is a ballad which reduces heroic figures to the level of everyday life in a notable way. In the Epic story Queen Kaikeyi obtained a boon from King Dasrath in virtue of her having replaced with her arm the broken axle of his chariot when he was battling with a demon. The boon was utilized to obtain the banishment of Rama. In the ballad the story is made to turn on a much more homely incident.

Kaikeyi's Wish [1]

Clop-clip-clop in his garden close
On his clogs of gold King Dasrath goes.

And as he wanders to and fro
A thorn runs into his royal toe.

"Whoever relieves me of my pain
Shall not ask for a boon in vain."

Out of the palace Kaikeyi trips
Dainty and trim to her finger tips.

"I will pull out the thorn and relieve your pain
If you grant the boon for which I am fain."

She pulls out the thorn with her fingers fair.
"Now, your Majesty, grant my prayer."

"Let Rama be to the forest sent
And Lachhman too in banishment,

"And let Prince Bharat, our son so dear,
Be lord and king in Ajudhya here."

"O lady, you know not what you ask;
To grant your prayer is a grievous task.

"His mother's pride, his father's stay,
My thoughts on Rama are fixed alway.

"He is in my mind and in my heart.
How can I live if Rama depart?"

[1] *Gram Git*, p. 103. Birth Song 56.

The following song is strangely reminiscent of the carol "The Seven Joys of Mary".

SITA'S WISHES [1]

The first good thing that Sita wished, it was that she might be
The wedded wife of Rama and love him faithfully.
And Sita's wish was granted:
God gave her what she wanted:
As Sita's wish was granted, so may our wishes be.

The next good thing that Sita wished, it was that she might be
The mother of two bonny boys, and live in mirth and glee.
And Sita's wish was granted:
God gave her what she wanted:
As Sita's wish was granted, so may our wishes be.

The third good thing that Sita wished, it was that she might be
A happy wife throughout her life, no widowhood to dree.
And Sita's wish was granted:
God gave her what she wanted:
As Sita's wish was granted, so may our wishes be.

Pandit Ram Naresh finds in some of the wedding songs indications of a better age when child marriage was unknown. In these ballads as a whole there are very few historical dates or allusions. In some, the stage appears to be set in the times of Muhammadan conquest, for instance the following, in which the marriage of a Brahman maiden to a youth who would appear to be a Rajput is also perhaps a point of antiquarian interest.

THE FOREST BRIDAL [2]

"O bridegroom, mount on your horse and ride
Under the greenwood tree.
With sword and buckler by your side"
Under the greenwood tree.
"Who is it hides in the forest glade?"
"It is I, fair sir, a Brahman maid.

[1] *Gram Git*, p. 142. Wedding Song 4.
[2] *Gram Git*, p. 153. Wedding Song 13.

"From the fierce Moghuls I hide in fear.
They have slain my sire and my brother dear."

He lifts her behind him on his horse.
They ride a weary, weary course.

A weary, weary course they take.
"Ah for some water my thirst to slake!"

"Oh! the wells are dry and the pools are mud,
And water is worth its weight in blood."

He gazed afar from a vantage height;
"I see a fountain of water bright.

"I see a fountain of water fair;
But fifty Moghuls are standing there."

"Oh, if you love me, for love's sake
Bring me a drop, my thirst to slake."

On one side fifty Moghuls stand,
On the other the Raja, sword in hand.

Fifty Moghuls lie bathed in gore:
He stands alone, the conqueror.

Of the greenwood leaves he makes a cup:
"Drink, my pretty one, drink it up."

She sat her down in a shady place;
With a silken scarf he fanned her face.

"You have saved what is more to me than life;
You have saved my honour and won a wife."

A wreath of flowers for his neck she wove
Under the greenwood tree,
And chose him there for her lord and love
Under the greenwood tree.

The refrains which are attached to most of these songs are generally meaningless jingles: in this case, however, "under the greenwood tree" is a translation of "Yahi ran ban men" of the original.

There is a similar historical environment, but no such happy ending, in the ballad of Bhagabati,[1] of which Sir George Grierson gives a transation in his *Bihari Folksongs*. The story has also been retold in verse by Sir Edwin Arnold. Bhagabati, a Rajput maiden, after saving her brother, Horil Singh, by promising to become the wife of a Muhammadan conqueror, throws herself into a tank and is drowned. In Pandit Ram Naresh's collection besides the version given by Sir George Grierson there are several variants of this story, collected in different districts: in one,[2] the Muhammadan oppressor has become a Hindu: in another,[3] by a remarkable anachronism, he makes use of British troops to accomplish his evil purpose :—

> " The Firingis came from the East and the West ;
> They set up their barracks at Dinapur
> The Mirza said to the Sahib, ' Send for Horil Singh and seize him.' "

There is one ballad which definitely dates from the days of the Mutiny, the ballad of "tough-hearted old Kunwar Singh who led the Shahabad Rajputs against the English in the Mutiny ".[4] The ballad does not relate the actual death of Kunwar Singh ; he was killed in the battle, after he had cut off his own arm, shattered by a cannon ball, and thrown it into the Ganges. The rough doggerel of the original, which I have tried to imitate, with its shouting refrain, is strangely reminiscent of a laisse of the Chanson de Roland, with its battle-cry of " Ahoy ! "

KUNWAR SINGH[5]

Kunwar Singh wrote to Amar Singh his brother
" Brother, give heed to the word I say. Ho Ram !

" Whoso bites on the leathern cartridge
Throws his Kshattriya caste away." Ho Ram !

[1] *Gram Git*, p. 368. Weeding Song 3. Grierson, " Bihari Folk-songs," xvi.
[2] *Gram Git*, p. 379. [3] *Gram Git*, p. 381.
[4] Grierson, " Bhojpuri Folk-songs." [5] *Gram Git*, p. 266. Mill Song 14.

Kunwar Singh, the elder, and Amar Singh, the younger,
Brothers of Kshattriya breed were they. Ho Ram!

Kunwar Singh, true to his word of honour,
Faced the Firangis in the fray. Ho Ram!

Out from Dinapure marched the Firangis;
At Koilwar their army lay. Ho Ram!

"Kunwar Singh, yield thy rule in Barharwa;
Countless cannon on thee shall play." Ho Ram!

Up to his face his kerchief holding,
Kunwar Singh weeping went on his way. Ho Ram!

"In my old age I go forth to battle.
What will the issue be, who shall say?" Ho Ram!

Some of the most striking of these ballads are the most difficult to present in an adequate English form. There is a group of ballads [1] on the theme of the "Cruel Brother". An elder brother, for love of his sister-in-law, kills his younger brother in the forest, where he has taken him on the pretence of hunting. The widow, by promising to become the murderer's wife, persuades him to lead her to where the body lies, and there becomes Sati. The tragedy is brought out by simple and dramatic language:—

All the others' horses came back prancing with joy:
Her lord's horse came back weeping.
"You were wont to come back both together:
How is it, brother of my lord, that you come back to-day alone?
How are your shoes wet, brother of my lord?
How is your sword wet?"
"It is dew that has wet my shoes, wife of my brother:
It was in hunting a roedeer that I wet my sword."
"Tell me the truth, brother of my lord:
Tell me, and I shall be faithful to you and to none other.
Where did you slay him? where did you throw him?
Where do the kites circle above him?"

[1] *Gram Git*, pp. 264, 310, 343, 381. Mill Song 13, 27, 37. Wedding Song 4. Grierson, "Bhojpuri Folk-songs," xlv (Basti Singh).

The ballad of "Edward, Edward!" was (says Bishop Percy) "transmitted to the editor by Sir David Dalrymple, Bart., late Lord Hailes," and the latter is by some suspected of having written it himself or refashioned it from verses now lost. If so, he might perhaps have made an English ballad from the Hindi materials. I shall not attempt it.

Another group deals with the sorrows of a wife who is ill-treated in her husband's house. Her brother visits her, and either takes her home [1] (in this version they are both drowned on the way), or returns alone [2] to be rebuked by his mother for not bringing her, or [3] slays the husband (a variant of the "Cruel Brother" theme—though in the English "Cruel Brother" it is the sister who is slain). Or [4] we have merely the domestic scene in the "sasural", the wife's conversation with her mother-in-law, who grudges her suitable food to celebrate her brother's visit, and her lament to her brother, how she has to do all the work of the house and is fed on scraps.

Some more examples may be quoted to show how these songs illustrate the humour and pathos of everyday village life.

THE FARMER'S BRIDE [5]

On the high-road side a farmer's bride
  Was drawing water from the well,
When a fine young lord rode by that way:
  A crafty tale he had to tell.

"Oh I hae rade East and I hae rade West.
  And I hae rade through the haill countrie,
But never saw I a lady fair
  That her husband used sae shamefullie.

[1] *Gram Git*, p. 429. Swing Song 26.
[2] Grierson, "Bhojpuri Folk-songs," xliv.
[3] *Gram Git*, p. 293. Mill Song 22.
[4] *Gram Git*, p. 424. Swing Song 25.
[5] *Gram Git*, p. 58. Birth Song 33.

"Can there be ane wi' a hairt of stane
That has a wife sae winsome sweet
And sends her oot in the noonday sun
To thole sic toil in the blazing heat?

"Gin thou wert mine, come rain come fine,
I'd guard thee weel and thou wad rest
Safe as the apple of mine e'e
Or as the hairt within my breast."

"And gin thou were mine, thou lordling fine,
That speaks sic shame to a wedded wife,
I wad make thee carry my husband's shoon,
And be his bondman a' thy life."

(In the original, the young Lord (Rajputwa) suggests that the woman's husband must be away from home, and that it is her mother-in-law who is ill-treating her.)

GET UP, GUDEMAN[1]

"Get up, gudeman, the coo is loose,
'Tis ye maun gae and find her.
Do on yer duds and quit the hoose.
What ailed ye no to bind her?"

"Oh wives and coos are kittle to keep.
What gart her burst her tether?
What gars ye wauk me frae my sleep
In siccan awfu' weather?"

"Gudeman, gin ye had sold the coo
And coft me jewels bricht,
Ye micht ha' lain abed the noo
And slept the leelang nicht."

"And gin I could sell my wife at the fair
And buy a sack o' corn,
The coo wad stray for grass nae mair,
And I wad sleep till morn."

[1] *Gram. Gd.* p. 184. Wedding Song 25.

It was after adopting the lowland Scots dialect for some of these translations that I found good authority for so doing in Legge's translations from what is the oldest collection of folk-songs in the world, the Chinese Shi King. In one of these [1] the theme (and part of the actual words) is, as in my song, "Get up, gudeman." Probably Legge had in mind, as I had, the old Scots song, "Get up and bar the door," with which (and also with "Tak your auld cloak aboot ye") both the Chinese and the Hindi songs have much in common.

For the Englishman there are traditionally three duties: to build a house (with an alternative, to write a book), to plant a tree, and to beget a child. For the Hindu there are five meritorious acts: to make a well, to plant a grove, to dig a tank, to beget a son, and to marry a daughter. Each of these is referred to in one of the verses of the following song.

Rewards [2]

"There comes a reward for making a well."
"When, tell me when?"
"When maidens throng round it, their pitchers to fill;
Then, lady, then."

"There comes a reward for planting a grove."
"When, tell me when?"
"When wayfarers eat of the fruit thereof;
Then, lady, then."

"There comes a reward for digging a tank."
"When, tell me when?"
"When cattle are crowding to drink from its bank;
Then, lady, then."

[1] Quoted in Clement F. R. Allen's "The Chinese Book of the Odes for English Readers," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, p. 455.

[2] *Gram Git*, p. 74. Birth Song 43.

"There comes a reward for a girl being born."
"When, tell me when?"
"When she gives birth to a boy in her turn;
Then, lady, then."

"There comes a reward for the birth of a boy."
"When, tell me when?"
"When to the world he brings blessing and joy;
Then, lady, then."

I will close with a song sung by women weeding the fields, in which the Frog Prince of Grimm's fairy-tales seems to partake of the fortunes and fate of the frog in the nursery rhyme.

A Frog He Would A-wooing Go.[1]

The good wife lifted her pitcher to land
With a hey and a ho.
Out jumped a frog, and caught hold of her hand.
With a hey nonnyno.

"Oh please, kind Sir, let me go," she cried.
"My goodman's sister shall be your bride."

Hoppity hop to the house came he.
"Give me the bride you promised me."

"How shall I give you my sister sweet
When you have neither blanket nor sheet?"

He went to the market, hoppity hop,
And bought the best in the draper's shop.

And hoppity hop to the house came he.
"Give me the bride you promised me."

"How shall I give you my sister dear
When you have neither house nor gear?"

He went to the carpenter's hoppity hop
"The finest wood you must saw and chop.

[1] Gram Git, p. 393. Weeding Song 7.

"Build me a palace and fill it with gear
Fit for a bride who is sweet and dear."

Hoppity hop to the house came he.
"Now give me the bride you promised me."

"How shall I give you my sister dear
With none of the village headmen here ?"

Hoppity hop to the village he sped.
"Come all you headmen and see me wed."

Hoppity hop he came back with them all,
And in he hopped to the wedding hall.

The headmen sat on each side of the room.
In the middle sat master Frog, the groom.

When down came a kite and took him away,
With a hey and a ho.
And that was the end of his wedding day.
With a hey nonnyno.

These few extracts must suffice to give an idea of the value of Pandit Ram Naresh's labours. These labours continue, and his net has been thrown wider. He wrote to me lately that he had returned from Southern and Western India with a large collection of folk-songs, and that he has been looking forward to some Society's taking up the burden of publication, the last volume having meant for him a financial loss. He also inquires whether the expenses of a journey to England in order to supervise the publication of selected translations are likely to be defrayed by the proceeds. I fear not, but I take the opportunity of broadcasting the suggestion.
250.

The Combat of 'Aleyân-Ba'al and Môt

Two missing portions

By THEODOR H. GASTER

A LUCKY find in 1933 enables us to supply the missing beginning and end of the long Ras Shamra tablet printed in *JRAS.*, October, 1932.

It will be remembered that this text was the libretto of a ritual pantomime in which Autumn Rains ('Aleyân-Ba'al) defeated Summer Drought (Môt) and regained supremacy over the earth. Each incident of the myth corresponded to a scene in the pantomime, and only upon this basis could the text be interpreted.

The new extracts have been published by Virolleaud in the periodical *Syria*, xv (1934), fasc. 3, but are here presented according to the writer's own interpretation.

The first describes how the goddess 'Anat performed the funeral rites over the ousted Ba'al. She erected monuments to him, gashed her flesh and uttered lamentations. Then she dug furrows in the soil to prepare for his resurrection.

Summoning the aid of the Lady Sun (Shapash), she descended into the netherworld and rescued the dead god. Then she interred him on the holy hill of the gods and performed sacrifices.

This incident corresponds to that of the ritual in which the burial and subsequent restoration of the god was enacted. Analogies in the Osiris, Attis, and Adonis cults are well known.

The second extract is fragmentary. It describes how the Lady Sun is entreated (by Môt ?) to eat the bread of the underworld, it being represented to her that she has yet sufficient resources to worst the netherworld powers.

This is a regular element in the myth of the Descensus ad Inferos. The underworld powers try to entice the "saviour" into eating the bread of death. This prevents his return.

The reason why it is here the Sun who descends is because the pantomime was enacted at the autumn solstice, when the Sun was believed to descend into the earth.

For the student of Semitic folklore the present extracts have special importance inasmuch as they furnish a Semitic version of the Adonis ritual and of the Descensus ad Inferos.

Further, there is mention in them of the Rephaim or "shades" of the Old Testament, and of a fight with Tanin, the Dragon.

I

לבעל |
עֹר[1] באבנ[ק][2] תד[3] | [פ]סלתם[4] [ביער][5] |
תהדי[6] לחם ודק[7] | [תשלש][8]
קן[9] שרעה[10] | תחרש כם גן
אפלב[11] | כעמק תשלש במת |
בעל מת[12] | מי לאם[13] בן דנך[14] |
מי המלת[15] אשר בעל[16] | נרד
בארץ עמה[17] | תרד נרת
אלם שפש | עד תשבע בכ |
תשת כין אדמעת | גם
תצח לנרת אלם שפש |
עמם לי אלאן בעל |
תשמע נרת אלם שפש |
תשא אלאן בעל | לכתף
ענת כ תשתה | תשעלינה
בצררת צפען[18] | תבכינה
ותקברנה[19] | תשתן בחרת[20]
אלם ארץ | תטבח[21] שבעם
ראמם | כגמן[22] אלאן בעל |

תטכח שבעם אלפם ׀
[כג]מן אלאן בעל ׀
תטכח שבעם צאן ׀
[כג]מן אלאן בעל ׀
תטכח שבעם איל[ם] ׀
[כגמן ...] אלאן בעל ׀
תטכח ... שבעם יעלם ׀
כגמן ... אלאן בעל ׀
תטכח שבעם] חמרם ׀

(The restorations follow Virolleaud.)

N.B.—The metre is 3 + 3, as frequently in the Old Testament. The *stichoi* are here marked by the vertical stroke.

I

She sets up a pillar unto Baal in the highland,
two graven stones on the plateau.
Cheek and chin she gashes;
she raises a threefold dirge for her mate.
She scores furrows in the . . . like a garden,
triple furrows in the upland like a valley,

(crying)
"Baal now is dead! . . .
Who now will be the comrade
of Ben-Dagan?
How is she now made desolate,
the shrine-mate of Baal!
Let us go down into the earth after him!"

Goes down the Lady Sun,[1]
the Light of the Gods,
the while she is sated with weeping
and drinks in tears like wine.

[1] Shapash.

Then speaks she to Lady Sun,
  that Light of the Gods:
"Load upon me Baal Puissant![1] . . ."

Hearkens the Lady Sun,
  the Light of the Gods,
She raises Baal Puissant
  upon the shoulder of 'Anat.
When she has placed him thereon,
  'Anat brings him up.
In the Navel of the North[2]
  she bewails him and inters him;
She orders burning of incense to the gods of
  the netherworld.

She slaughters wild-oxen
  threescore and ten;
Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
  then slaughters she oxen
threescore and ten;
  Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
then slaughters she sheep
  threescore and ten;
Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
  then slaughters she harts
threescore and ten;
  Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
then slaughters she mountain-goats
  threescore and ten;
Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
  then slaughters she asses
threescore and ten . . .

[1] Aleyan-Baal.
[2] Zaphon.

Commentary

1 עַר, as a parallel to פסלתם, can only be the Arabic غَرِيّ "bedaubed stone", often set up as a religious monument; v. Robertson-Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 157, 201, 210. The word may be detected in Hebrew in Micah, v, 13: וְהִשְׁמַדְתִּי עָרֶיךָ מִקִּרְבֶּךָ וְנָתַשְׁתִּי אֲשֵׁירֶיךָ (usually emended to עצבך).

2 אבן, as a parallel to יער, must be used in the sense of Assyrian *abnu* "peak, crag", and Hebrew אֶבֶן in Genesis, xlix, 24. Cf. Arabic mountain-name أبان.

2a תד Cf. As. *nadu* "deposit".

3 פסלתם: The dual is explained by the fact that sacred stones in Semitic antiquity were often set up in pairs. Cf. the *ghariyan* at Faid and Hira; Robertson-Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, locc. citt.; Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 43.

4 יער, like the Arabic وعر, does not necessarily mean a woodland (as in Hebrew יַעַר), but denotes any intractable stretch of land.

5 תהדי What is here described is the familiar "cuttings for the dead"; cf. Deut. xiv, 1; 1 Kings, xviii, 28; Jer., xvi, 6; xlvii, 5. Cf. also Isaiah, xv, 2 (גרע זקן), and Jer., xlviii, 37 (גרע זקן). On this rite in pre-Islamic usage cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 161. For parallels, including the Roman "radere genas", v. Driver, *Deut.*, p. 156.

The verb הדי must hence connect with Arabic هَذّ and هذأ "cut, sever, amputate", on the analogy of גדד and גרע.

6 דקן; as in Arabic ذقن "chin", balancing לחם "cheeks"

7 תְשַׁלֵּשׁ קן "she raises a threefold lament". In illustration of this it is worth noting that in the Poem of Shalem-Shahar from Ras Shamra (Ginsberg, *JRAS.*, Jan., 1935; Gaster, *Stud. e. Mat. n. Storia d. Religione*, Jan., 1935) the god Môt is bewailed in a threefold dirge. However, תשלש may have the wider meaning of "manifold"; cf. *BH.* בדמעות שָׁלִישׁ (Ps. lxxx, 6). Cf. Greek τριπόθητος Ἄδωνις.

8 קן: not merely "lamentation" but more specifically "dirge"; cf. Ethiopic ቅኔ "song", and Arabic قينة "songstress".

The reference here is to the ritual ululation, on which v. Eitrem, *Beiträge*, iii, 44 sqq.; Jane Harrison, *Themis*, 160.

9 שרעה: This word, which has puzzled Virolleaud, is a noun formed from the Shaf'el base of רעי "unite". Cf. exactly Ethiopic መርዓዊ "bridegroom", and BH. רֵעַ ("friend") and רעיה. Perhaps

also cf. Ar. "wife, consort". Thus the meaning is "her mate", and we must regard Aleyan-Baal as the Tammuz-like lover of 'Anat.

10 אפלב: it is difficult to determine what is here indicated. Presumably, 'Anat digs furrows in the "high place" (cf. במת . . . תשלש) and in something analogous to it described in the mysterious complex אפלב. This may quite conceivably refer to the act of "ploughing the Adonis-field" or the "field of Osiris" and sowing it with seed in order to achieve his resucitation. For this as an Osirian mystery-rite, cf. Moret, *La Mise à Mort du Roi en Egypte*, p. 39.

The meaning of אפלב is unknown. If it be a single word it is evidently non-Semitic, and probably imported from the technical vocabulary of some foreign mystery-cult adopted in the Semitic sanctuary at Ugarit (Ras Shamra).

11 בעל מת; there is additional point in this cry when it is remembered that بعل and موات are mutually antithetical terms, the former equating with Ar. بعل "fertile soil", and the latter with موات "sterile soil" (v. fully our remarks in *Archiv Orientalni*, v, 119).

This cry answers to such a ritual cry in the mysteries as e.g. "the great god Pan is dead" or *ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις*.

12 לאם "friend, companion", from rt. לאם, Ar. لأم, Assyrian *lâmu* "bind"; cf. semasiologically Heb. חָבֵר (from חבר); אלוף (from אלף = Ar. ألف, Assyrian *alâpu*), etc.

13 בן דגן is again mentioned in 1 AB., l. 24, but we await further light concerning him.

14 הבלת "desolate". Cf. Arabic همل and Hebrew אמלל.

15 אשר בעל: lit. "shrine of Baal", a regular paraphrase for 'Anat in other parts of the poem (1 AB., ii, 9, 30; 2 AB., iv, 18). Mentioned also in the list of deities, RS., 1929, xvii.

This means literally "shrine-mate of Baal"; cf. the South-Arabian style *Moṭab Naṭiyan*, *Moṭab Kbṭ*, and *Moṭab Madgab*, as well as the Egyptian *Hathor* = *Ḥt. Ḥr.* "house of Horus".

16 עמה: not "with him", but "after him", since עם in this language always means "toward", like BH. לְעֻמַּת. For the construction cf. 1932, ii, last line שת בכספר עמי and ibid., 1, 10: לאך עמי "send a message to me".

17 תשעלינה בצררת צפן; cf. 1 AB., i, 29: יעל בצררת צפן since צררת צפן, abode of the gods, is on a mountain-top; v. our note 25 in *JRAS.*, 1932, 880.

צררת links up with Arabic صُرَّةٌ and Assyrian *surru* "navel", and connects with the widespread idea that the abode of the gods (e.g. Jerusalem, Mt. Gerizim, Delos) is the navel or "omphalos" of the earth; cf. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth* (1917). צפען indicates the northern area; cf. *Amurru* "the Westland" and *Kedem* "the Eastland".

18 תבכינה and ותקברנה: For the juxtaposition cf. Job, xxvii, 15: שְׂרִידָו בַּמָּוֶת יִקָּבֵרוּ ואלמנותיו לא תבכינה which must be translated: "those that survive him shall be buried at death with no widows bewailing them."

18a בחרת "incense-burning". Cf. Arabic بَخّر; As. *baḫâru* (v. Langdon, *Menologies*, p. 16, n. 1).

19 תטבח in the sense "sacrifice, slaughter"; so in *Shalem-Shaḥar*, i, 14.

20 גמין meaning uncertain. Virolleaud acutely compares הַגְמִיאִינִי ("drink up") in Gen., xxiv, 17, which is again spelt without final Aleph in the Samaritan text. The reference will then be to Aleyan-Baal's drinking up the blood of the sacrifices.

The difficulty about this is that גמא is apparently itself merely a softened form of גמע, as in Aramaic and as in Arabic جرع. Hence it can scarcely be treated as a genuine ל"א verb, with an alternative cognate form medial Waw. Bauer suggests that בגמן = BH. בְּגְמֻל "as an offering of repayment (unto)", the interchange of *lamed* with *nun* being parallelled in other instances.

21 איל: Since Heb. אַיִל "ram" appears in *RS*. as אֹל (2 AB., vi, 42, and ? 2 AB., i, 31), this must be a word where the medial yod is radical. Hence it is Hebrew אַיָּל; Ar. إيّل; Ethiopic ሀየለ::; Syriac ܐܝܠܐ; Assyr. *ajalu* "hart".

II

? . ?
פאת . . . .
קבאת . . . .
דאנשת . . . .
[ל]תבאׄ לתשתקל׳ ׀
. . . ך טרי׳ ׀ אף לתלחם
[ל]חם תרממת׳ ׀ לתשת
ין תעצית׳ ׀ שפש

רפאם· תחתך |
שפש תחתך אׂלנים· |
עדך· אׂלם· הן מתם |
עדך כשׂרם· חברך[10] |
וחׂסם דעתך[11] |
בים[12] ארש[13] ותנן[14] |
כשׂר וחׂסם יד[15] |
יתר[16] כשׂר וחׂסם |

38 : מׂאת? Virolleaud.
41 : *ipse supplevi.*

(Three broken lines)

" . . . . . . dost come, dost hie ;
. . . . . . from afar !
Moreover, now eat thou the bread of corruption,
Now drink thou the wine of decay !

O Lady Sun, the shades are under thee ;
O Lady Sun, under thee are the Hollow Men !
At thy side are the gods ; behold, the dead are
At thy side ; forsooth, Kashir is thy henchman
And Ḥasis thy company !
Into the sea both Monster and Dragon
Doth Kashir-cum-Ḥasis hurl,
Doth Kashir-cum-Ḥasis make to spring ! ". . .

In this speech Môt endeavours to entice the Sun-goddess (Shapash) to eat the fatal bread of the dead, which, once eaten, prevents release from the netherworld. He urges upon her that even if she do so she still has sufficient power to vanquish its hosts, in view of the fact that Kashir-cum-Ḥasis is her henchman, able to cast into the sea the great dragons.

This episode of enticement is a regular motif in tables of the " Descensus ad Inferos " and occurs in all the better-known forms, as does also the vanquishing of the dragons. This last is mentioned both in the Old and New Testaments (cf. Is., li, 9 ; Ps., lxxiv, 13 ; Rev., xx, 3).

This extract contains Mōt's reply to the following speech of the Sun-goddess, Shapash (1 AB. vi, 24 ff.):

"Hearken, pray, unto me
O Mōt, son of the gods!
How canst thou now contend
Against Ba'al Puissant?
How doth not thy sire,
Even El, the Great Bull
Now claim thy submission?
Lo, he uprooteth the portals of thy dwelling,
Lo, he overturneth the throne of thy dominion,
Lo, he breaketh in sunder the sceptre of thy sway!"

The first part of Mōt's reply is contained in a fragmentary passage which follows:

ירד בן אל·ם · מת | ישתע[1] י
דד אל עזר | יער[2] מת
בקלה | י.. [אלאין]
בעל | ישׁשבן [לכסא]
מלכה | ל...[כחשׁ]
דרכתה | ....
(1 AB. vi, 30–5).

Then Mōt, the son of the gods,
Proceeded, he made smooth talk,
Yea, Ġazar, the darling of El
Made protestation (thus):
"Now Ba'al (Puissant goes up),
He sits throned (on the throne of) his kingdom,
Lo, he is now (ascended
To the dais of) his dominion! . . .

After three broken lines the speech continues as in the present fragment.

[1] שתע secondary from שעע in orig. sense. Cf. Syriac ܫܥܐ (in Ethpa'el) "converse".
[2] יער בקלה Cf. Aram. ערר, NH. ערער "utter a protestation".

The opening lines of the new text are beyond restoration, but their contents may be deduced from the analogous passage, 2 AB. iv, 31 ff., where El welcomes Asherat:

"How hast thou journeyed forth,
O Asherat, Queen of the Sea,
How art thou now arrived,
O Mistress of the Gods!
Very hungry art thou and hast been roaming,
Yea, blindly hast thou wandered (?) and strayed!
Behold, here is bread and here is drink," etc.

In the present text the words ולתבֹא לתשתקל ("lo, thou art come, lo hiest hither") answer to אֹךְ מעֹת....אךְ אתית in that passage, whilst ...ךְ טרי suggests the equivalent of the phrase "blindly hast thou wandered (?) and strayed", the word טרי linking with Arabic طرا "come from afar".

COMMENTARY

לתשתקל. According to Virolleaud (*Syria*, xv, 238) שקל occurs often in *RS*., and means "come, hie". I would compare Syriac ܫܩܠ which renders BH. נסע in Pesh. Numbers, ix, 18; Ps. lxxviii, 52; and Greek μετῆρεν in Matthew, xix, 1.

טרי ךְ...; cf. Arabic طرا *venire e loco longinquo*. The first word would mean "thy journeying" *vel simile*.

תרמׄמת is a tiqtal formation from רמם equating with BH., id. (Ex. xvi, 20), whence the noun רִמָּה "worm". Cf. also the Arabic رمّ.

תעֹׄצית as a parallel to תרממת equates with Ethiopic ዕፄ "worm", which in turn equates with Ar. عثّ and BH. עָשׁ

רפֹאם "the shades". Cf. Is. xiv, 9; xxvi, 14; Psalm lxxxviii, 11; Job, xxvi, 5, etc.

אֹלנים is a synonym of רפֹאם, but the etymology is not clear. Virolleaud thinks it an ethnic (the 'Elonites) denoting an ancient tribe now believed to people the netherworld. Dussaud (*Syria*, xv, 303) compares the *alonim* "gods" of Plautus, but this does not account for the intrusive *yod*.

Possibly the word is an artificial formation, like שבעני "Sir Seventh" from שבע in Shalem-Shahar, i, 64, from a root אלל identical with Syriac ܐܠܝܠ and Ass. *ulâlu* "be weak". For this as a name for the dead cf. רפאם from רפה, and Greek *οἱ καμόντες*. For the idea cf. Job, iii, 17; Psalm lxxxviii, 5.

7 עדך in contrast with תחתך, may be equated with Ethiopic ዓዴ = "at thy side".

8 אלם denotes the gods of the netherworld. Cf. 1 Sam., xxviii, 13.

9 כשרם The suffix is not that of the masc. plural, as taken by Virolleaud and Dussaud. It is the enclitic ם, corresponding to Eth. ሙ and Assyrian *-ma*. This is common in *RS*. texts.

כשר וחסם is a composite figure who recurs in 2 AB. (v. *JRAS.*, 1935, p. 10, n. 15). I now regard him as an eponymous deity, like קדש ואמרר "god of Kadesh and Amurru" or נסן ואגר "god of Byblos and Ugarit", since both כשר and חסם occur as tribal-names in the (unpublished) Epic of Keret. The latter also occurs as a place-name in the obscure text published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, xv, fasc. ii.

10 חברך: BH. חָבֵר; Assyr. *ebru*, etc., "friend," here in the sense of "comrade-in-arms".

11 דעתך, as a synonym of חברך, must be a collective of ידע, in the sense of BH. מוֹדַע and Syriac *id*. It means "circle of allies".

12 בים; the underworld lies at the bottom of the sea; cf. Job, xxvi, 5.

13 ארש, as a parallel to תנן, must mean "sea-monster", but I do not know the etymology.

ארש and תנן answer to לִוְיָתָן and בְּהֵמוֹת of O.T. mythology.

14 תנן; cf. Isaiah, li, 9; Psalm lxxiv, 13, for allusions to this mythological figure.

15 ידי from ידי "throw, hurl", akin to Arabic ودى and Assyrian *nadu*.

16 יתר as a parallel to ידי connects with the root נתר, Arabic نتل "spring" in a causative sense.

Although in fact a composite being, כשר וחסם is treated grammatically as a plural.

264.

The Ratnavali of Nagarjuna

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

IN the April issue, 1934, of this JOURNAL, I edited and translated the first chapter of this work of the great Nāgārjuna, still a fundamental treatise in the monasteries of Tibet. I now publish the remaining portions of the second and fourth chapters, the second being incomplete and the third entirely missing. The fifth and last *pariccheda* contains chiefly *vinaya*-rules, and will be published in a subsequent issue, along with the Tibetan text and the English translation of the missing portions.

In this way, another of the most important works of Nāgārjuna will be made accessible to Buddhist scholars.

I have nothing to add to the short notes which I prefixed to the edition of the first chapter. To the sources there referred to I must add a short but very useful commentary upon this treatise from the pen of one of the two most famous pupils of Tsoṅ k'a pa, namely rGyal ts'ab rje. It is contained in the first volume of his complete works (*gsum ạbum*, sNart'ang edition). It bears the title: *dBu ma rin c'en ạp'reṅ bai sñiṅ poi don gsal bar byed pa.*

II[1]

[6a] Kadalī pāṭitā yadvan niḥśeṣāvayavaiḥ saha |
na kiṃcit puruṣas tadvat pātitaḥ saha dhātubhiḥ || 1
sarvadharmā anātmāna ity ato bhāṣitaṃ jinaiḥ |
dhātuṣaṭkaṃ ca taiḥ sarvaṃ nirṇītaṃ tac ca nārthataḥ || 2
naivam ātmā na cānātmā yāthābhūtyena labhyate |
ātmānātmakṛtadṛṣṭī varvārāsmān mahāmuniḥ || 3
dṛṣṭaśrutādyaṃ muninā na satyaṃ na mṛṣoditaṃ |
pakṣād dhi pratipakṣaḥ syād ubhayaṃ tac ca nārthataḥ || 4
iti satyānṛtātīto loko 'yaṃ paramārthataḥ |

[1] See *Journal*, April, 1934, p. 397.

asmād eva ca tattvena nopaity asti ca nāsti ca || 5
yac caivaṃ sarvathā neti sarvajñas tat kathaṃ vadet |
śāntam ity athavānantaṃ dvayaṃ vādvayam eva vā || 6
asaṃkhyeyā gatā buddhās tathaiṣyanty atha sāṃpratāḥ |
koṭyagraśaś ca sattvāntas tebhyas traikālyajo mataḥ || 7
vṛddhihetur na lokasya, kṣayas traikālyasambhavaḥ |
sarvajñena kathaṃ tasya pūrvānto 'vyākṛtaḥ kṛtaḥ || 8
etat tu dharmagāmbhīryaṃ yat tad guhyaṃ pṛthagjane |
māyopamatvaṃ lokasya buddhānāṃ śāsanāmṛtam || 9
māyāgajasya dṛśyeta yathā janmānta eva ca |
na ca kaścit sa tattvena janmāntaś caiva vidyate || 10
māyopamasyalokasya tathā janmānta eva ca |
dṛśyate paramārthena na ca janmānta eva ca || 11
yathā māyāgajo naiti kutaścid yāti (6b] na kvacit |
cittamohanamātratvād bhāvatvena na tiṣṭhati || 12
tathā māyopamo loko naiti yāti na kutracit |
cittamohanamātratvād bhāvatvena na tiṣṭhati || 13
traikālyavyativṛttātmā loka evaṃ nu ko 'rthataḥ |
yo 'sti nāsty athavāpi syād anyatra vyavahārataḥ || 14
catuṣprakāram ity asmāt śānto 'nanto dvayo 'dvayaḥ |
buddhena hetor nānyasmād ayam avyākṛtaḥ kṛtaḥ || 15
śarīrāśucitā tāvan sthūlā pratyakṣagocarā |
satataṃ dṛśyamānāpi yadā citte na tiṣṭhati || 16
tadātisūkṣmo gambhīraḥ saddharmo 'yaṃ anālayaḥ |
apratyakṣaḥ kathaṃ citte sukhenāvatariṣyati || 17
sambudhyāsmān nirvṛtto 'bhūd dharmaṃ deśayituṃ muniḥ |
durjñānam atigāmbhiryāj jñātvā dharmam imaṃ janaiḥ || 18
vināśayati durjñāto dharmo 'yam avipaścitaṃ |
nāstitādṛṣṭisamale yasmād asmin nimajjati || 19
aparo 'py asya durjñānān mūrkhaḥ paṇḍitamānikaḥ |
pratikṣepavinaṣṭātmā yāty avīcim adhomukhaḥ || 20
durbhuktena yathānnena vināśam adhigacchati |
subhuktenāyur ārogyaṃ balaṃ saukhyāni cāśnute || 21
durjñātena tathānena vināśam adhigacchati |
samyagjñātenātra sukhaṃ bodhiṃ cāpnoty anuttarāṃ || 22
tasmād atra pratikṣepaṃ dṛṣṭiṃ tyaktvā ca nāstikīṃ |

samyagjñānaparaṃ yatnaṃ kuru [7a] sarvārthasiddhaye || 23
dharmasyāsyāparijñānād ahaṃkāro 'nuvartate |
tataḥ śubhāśubhaṃ karma tato janma śubhāśubhaṃ || 24
tasmād yāvad avijñāto dharmo 'haṃkāraśātanaḥ |
dānaśīlakṣamādharme tāvad ādaravān bhava || 25
dharmapūrvāṇi kāryāṇi dharmamadhyāni pārthiva |
sādhayan dharmaniṣṭhāni neha nāmutra sīdati || 26
dharmāt kīrtiḥ sukhaṃ caiva neha bhīr na mumūrṣataḥ |
paralokasukhaṃ sphītaṃ tasmād dharmaṃ sadā bhaja || 27
dharma eva parā nītir dharmāl loko 'nurajyate |
rañjitena hi lokena neha nāmutra vañcyate || 28
adharmeṇa tu yā nītis tayā loko 'parajyate |
lokāparañjanāc caiva neha nāmutra nandati || 29
parātisandhānaparā kaṣṭā durgatipaddhatiḥ |
anarthavidyā duṣprajñair arthavidyā kathaṃ kṛtā || 30
parātisandhānaparo nītimān katham arthataḥ |
yena janmasahasrāṇi bahūny ātmaiva vañcyate || 31
ripor apriyam anvicchan dosāṃs tyaktvā guṇān śraya |
svahitāvāptir eva tu ripos cāpy apriyaṃ bhavet || 32
dānena priyavadyena hitenaikārthacaryayā |
ebhir ācara lokasya dharmasyaiva ca saṅgrahaṃ || 33
viśvāsaṃ janayaty ekaṃ satyaṃ rājñāṃ yathā dṛḍhaṃ |
tathaivābhūtam apy eṣām aviśvāsakaraṃ paraṃ || 34
nāvisaṃvādavat satyaṃ [sattve] [7b] odgataṃ arthataḥ |
paraikāntahitaṃ satyam ahitatvān mṛṣetarat || 35
doṣān pracchādayaty ekas tyāgo rājñāṃ yathojjvalaḥ |
tathā kārpaṇyam apy eṣāṃ guṇasarvasvaghātakaṃ || 36
upaśāntasya gāmbhīryaṃ gāmbhīryād gauravaṃ paraṃ |
gauravād dīptir ājñā ca tasmād upaśamaṃ bhaja || 37
ahāryabuddhiḥ prājñatvād aparapratyayaḥ sthiraḥ |
nātisandhīyate rājā tasmāt prajñāparo bhava || 38
satyatyāgaśamaprajño caturbhadro narādhipaḥ |
dharmaś caturbhadra iva stūyate devamānuṣaiḥ || 39
nigṛhyavādibhiḥ śuddhaiḥ prajñākāruṇyanirmalaiḥ |
sahāsīnasya satataṃ prajñā dharmaś ca varddhate || 40
durlabhāḥ pathyavaktāraḥ śrotāras tv atidurlabhāḥ |

tebhyo 'tidurlabhatamā ye pathyasyāśu kāriṇaḥ || 41
pathyam apy apriyaṃ tasmāj jñātvā śīghraṃ samācara |
pibed auṣadham apy ugram ārogyāyātmavān iva || 42
jīvitārogyarājyānāṃ cintayānityatāṃ sadā |
tataḥ saṃvegavān dharmam ekāntena prayāsyase || 43
avaśyaṃ maraṇaṃ paśyan pāpād duḥkhaṃ mṛtasya ca |
aihikena sukhenāpi na pāpaṃ kṣātum arhasi || 44
kasmiṃś ced abhayaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ bhayaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ kvacit kṣaṇe |
yady ekasmin samāśvāsaḥ kim ekasmin na te bhayaṃ || 45
madyât paribhavo loke kāryahānir dhanakṣayaḥ |
akāryakāraṇaṃ mohāt [madyam tyaja tataḥ sadā] ||

. . . .

1. As the plantain tree, split down along with all its components, is naught, even so the individual, when split down along with its constituents.[1]

2. The Victorious ones said therefore that everything is devoid of self; they have ascertained the real nature of the constituents [forming an individual] and [shown] that they also are devoid of any reality.[2]

3. In this way from the standpoint of the absolute truth [the notion] of a self or of a non-self cannot be conceived. Therefore the Great Ascetic excluded both views, viz. that of the existence of a self and that of the non-existence of a self.[3]

4. The Ascetic stated that whatever is perceived by the senses, viz. is seen or heard and so forth, is neither true nor

[1] Reference is made here to a simile to be met very often in the *sūtra* literature.

[2] Tib. ང, 128 *b*, *k'ams drug de kun bdag med par k'yod la glad la p'ab pa yin.* "It has been ascertained for you that the six constituents are devoid of self."

[3] Three are the statements to be demonstrated: (*a*) existence or non-existence of a self cannot be proved *in se*; (*b*) existence or non-existence of an essence cannot be proved *in se*; (*c*) refutation of those who argue against the view of the Master, viz. that the question whether this world has an end or not must be left undetermined: (*a*) = v. 3; (*b*) = vv. 4–5; (*c*) = vv. 6-15. This verse is quoted by Candrakīrti. PP. p. 359.

false. In fact, if there is a thesis, an antithesis is derived from it, but both thesis and antithesis do not really exist (as *per se* existent without their contrary).[1]

5. Therefore from the metaphysical standpoint this universe transcends both reality and unreality, and so, in truth, it cannot admit either of existence or of non-existence.

6. How could therefore the all-knower affirm that this universe, about which no statement is absolutely possible, has an end or is without an end, is a duality or a non-duality ?[2]

7. "Many Buddhas have gone, will come, or do appear in this very moment. The notion of a limit as regards living beings in their innumerable series is said by them to be born from the threefold temporal relation."[3]

8. "There is no cause for the increasing of the world of creatures; their passing away is determined by the threefold temporal relation. How could then the Buddha, who is the all-knower, leave this question as regards the commencement or the end of the world unanswered ?"[4]

9. In this consists the very depth of our doctrine, viz. that it remains a secret for the ordinary people. The teaching that the world is to be compared with a magic play represents the essence of the doctrine of all Buddhas.

10. We can perceive the birth or the end of an elephant

[1] Ibid.

[2] Here the third argument (c) begins; it is intended to prove that the Buddha is right in maintaining that no determination is possible as regards this world. After the thesis (v. 6) there is the objection of the opponent (vv. 7–8), and then the reply, which consists of two examples (10, 11, 12) and a conclusion.

[3] The reason of the appearance of the Buddhas in this world is their desire to lead human creatures towards *nirvāṇa*. If their preaching is really efficacious, this implies that numberless creatures have been saved, are saved, and will be saved by them.

[4] There is no reason for admitting that beings may come to existence now who did not exist before; since, then, the number of creatures does not increase and, on the other hand, their disappearance into nirvāṇa through the preaching of the Buddhas is proved by past experience, it would seem that the ultimate end of this world is a well established fact. Here the objection of the opponent ends.

created by magic power, though in reality, it has neither birth nor end;

11. even so we can see a beginning and an end in this world, though, from the standpoint of the metaphysical truth, it has neither origin nor end.

12. As an elephant created by magic power comes from nowhere and goes to nowhere, in so far as, being due to a mere bewilderment, it does not stay anywhere as something existent,

13. even so, this universe like a magic play comes from nowhere and goes to nowhere; being due to a mere mental bewilderment, it does not stay anywhere.

14. What is, therefore, in its essence this universe, which, transcending the threefold temporal relation, cannot be said to be or not to be, except from the standpoint of the conventional truth?

15. Therefore for this very reason, and for no other one, the Buddha left this world undetermined as regards four points, viz. if it has an end, if it has no end, if it is duality, if it is a unity.[1]

16. The uncleanness of the body, though it is something material and perceivable, does not abide in the mind, though it is continually under our eyes;

17. how, then, could this perfect doctrine, extremely subtle and deep and devoid of any support, easily descend into our mind?

18. This is why the ascetic, after having realized this doctrine, declined, at the first moment,[2] to preach it; he

[1] According to rGyal ts'ab, instead of duality and unity, we should understand "both" and "neither". This verse refers to the four points as held by four different schools: (a) No existence when this life is over; is Lokāyata, *rgyan p'an pa*. (b) Continuation of the *ātman* when this life is over; Sāṃkhya, *grańs can pa*. (c) Both end and non-end (viz. its modalities—*gnas skabs* -subject to an end but not its essence); Nirgranthas, *gcer bu pa*. (d) Neither end nor non-end: opinion held by some Vātsiputrīyas (*gnas ma bui sde*), since, for them, individuals are undeterminable.

[2] Another discussion is here introduced as regards the depth of this teaching. Three points: (a) general statement (vv. 16–17); (b) this depth

knew in fact that this very doctrine is very difficult to be understood by common people on account of its depth.

19. If this doctrine is not well understood it causes the ruin of the unintelligent man, since he sinks into the impurity of nihilism.

20. Some other fools who think themselves to be wise do not understand it properly, and therefore fall head down into the hell Avīci, being ruined by their criticism against the perfect doctrine.[1]

21. By food badly digested a man gets his ruin, but by food well digested he enjoys long life, good health, physical strength, and other pleasures;

22. even so those who do not properly understand the doctrine will get their ruin; on the contrary, by its right understanding one obtains happiness in this life and the supreme illumination.

23. Therefore, giving up any criticism against this doctrine and getting rid of the nihilistic view, strive after the right knowledge in order to arrive at the complete attainment of your object.

24. If one does not thoroughly understand this doctrine egotism is originated; from this, karma, both moral and immoral is derived, and from this a new life which will accordingly take place in good conditions of existence or in bad ones.[2]

25. Therefore as long as this doctrine, which annihilates egotism, is not thoroughly understood, so long apply yourself with great care to the [practice of] the law, which consists in liberality, moral conduct, and patience.

is the reason why the Buddha did not preach the doctrine to those who were not in a condition to understand it properly (v. 18). (c) Why this depth must be considered: three subdivisions: (a) its wrong interpretation and the sin which follows from it (vv. 19–20); (b) advantages of its right understanding (vv. 21–21); (c) instruction for its proper understanding (v. 23).

[1] vv. 19–20 are quoted by Candrakīrti PP., p. 496, ll. 1 and 8; in 19a *durdṛṣṭo* instead of *durjñāto*.

[2] The discussion on *abhyudaya* is here introduced.

26. Therefore, o king, whoever in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end accomplishes his actions according to the law, never sinks either here or in the other world.[1]

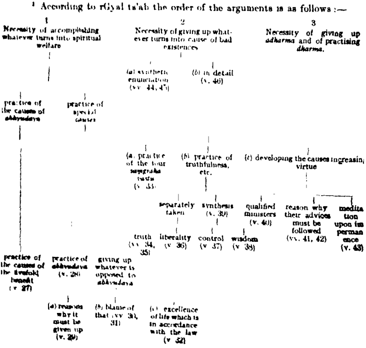
27. From the law one gets renown and happiness and has no cause of fear either during life or at the point of death; he will share copious happiness in another existence; be therefore always a partaker of the law.

28. The law alone is the supreme policy, because the affection of men is captivated by the law. When the affection of men is captivated, the king is not deceived either here or in the after life.

29. That policy which is against the law displeases subjects; and when subjects are displeased, the king cannot rejoice either in this or in another life.

30. How is it possible that some men of mischievous

[1] According to rGyal ts'ab the order of the arguments is as follows:—



intelligence could think a science productive of evil, intended to deceiving others, harmful, conducive to bad rebirths (viz. politics) to be a science aiming at the public welfare?

31. How can a man addicted to deceive others be considered as really clever when, on the contrary, he deceives only himself for thousands of rebirths?

32. If you want to displease your enemy, give up every sin and take shelter in virtue; in this way you will obtain your own benefit and at the same time your enemy will not be pleased.

33. Liberality, kindness in speaking, benefiting others, being intended to the spiritual profit (of others as well as of oneself), through these virtues behave towards men and religion.

34. Truth alone begets firm confidence [of subjects] in kings; even so untruth engenders extreme mistrust towards them.

35. Truth in reality is not that which is devoid of falsehood, nor that which develops in a pure mind[1]; truth is the absolute good done to others; its contrary is falsehood on account of its being harmful to others.

36. A single brilliant act of liberality overshadows the faults of the kings; even so miserliness ruins all their virtues.

37. A man who has control over himself acquires deepness of mind; from deepness of mind he obtains dignity; from dignity lustre is derived; from lustre authority. Practise therefore control over thyself.

38. A king who, on account of his wisdom, is resolute in his ideas, who does not depend on others and is determined, cannot be deceived; be therefore solely devoted to wisdom.

39. A king who is possessed of the four blessings, viz. truth, liberality, self-control, and wisdom, is praised by gods and men, as the law itself with its four blessings.

40. When [a king] sits together with his ministers restrained in their speeches, spotless, purified by their wisdom and

[1] Tib. slu ba mi ldan bden min te | sems dpas la sgyur ba don du min ||

their compassion, wisdom and law will then grow in him for ever.

41. Scarce are those who can give wholesome advice, scarcer are those who listen to them, but far scarcer still are those who immediately practise wholesome counsel.[1]

42. Having therefore understood that something is wholesome though unpalatable, do it at once; even so a clever man in order to recover his health drinks a medicine however acrid.

43. Keep always in your mind that things such as life, good health, and kingship are impermanent; frightened therefore [by impermanence], you will seek for the law as the only refuge.

44. Realizing that death is inevitable and that, as soon as one is dead, the consequence of sin is sorrow, you cannot annihilate sin even through the enjoyment of this life.

45. If, in a certain moment, you see no danger and in another moment you see a danger, then, if you trust in one, how is it that you do not fear the other?

46. By being addicted to drinking one is in this world despised by others, is unable to carry out his business, loses his wealth and, on account of the bewilderment that proceeds from that, he cannot accomplish his duty. Give up therefore drinking.[2]

IV

[15a] adharmam anyāyyam api prāyo rājā 'nujīvibhiḥ |
ācaran stūyate tasmāt krcchrād vetti kṣamā'kṣamam || 1
anyo 'pi tāvad yaḥ kaścid durvacaḥ kṣamam apriyam |
kim u rājā mahābhaumas tvaṃ mayā bhikṣuṇā satā || 2
tvatkṛtād eva tu snehāj jagatām anukampayā |
aham eko vadāmi tvāṃ pathyam apy apriyaṃ bhṛśaṃ || 3
satyaṃ ślakṣṇārthavat pathyaṃ śiṣyaḥ kāle 'anukampayā |
vācya ity āha bhagavāṃs tad evam abhidhīyase || 4
akrodhe satyavākye ca ślāghyamāno yadi sthitaḥ |

[1] Tib. de dag las kyaṅ mi sñan yin | p'an pai rjes su byed pa dkon ||
[2] Tib. de bas c'aṅ ni rtag tu spoṅs |

śravyaṃ samparigṛhṇīyāt sattoyaṃ snāpyamānavat || 5
tasya me vadato vākyaṃ tvam ihāmutra ca kṣamaṃ |
jñātvā kuru hitāyedam ātmano jagato 'pi ca || 6
yācakebhyaḥ purā dānāt prāpyārthāṃś cen na dāsyasi |
akṛtajñatvalobhābhyāṃ nārthān punar avāpsyasi || 7
iha pathy adanaṃ loke na vahaty abhṛto bhṛtaḥ |
yācakas tv abhṛto 'mutra hīnaḥ śataguṇodvahaḥ || 8
udāracittaḥ satataṃ bhavodārakriyārataḥ |
udārakarmaṇaḥ sarvam udāraṃ jāyate phalam || 9
manorathair api klībair anālīḍhaṃ narādhipaiḥ |
kuru dharmāspadaṃ śrīmat khyātaṃ ratnatrayāspadam || 10
sāmantarājaromāñcakaraṃ dharmāspadaṃ na yat |
mṛtasyāpy apraśasyatvād rājaṃs tad akṛtaṃ varam || 11
atyaudāryād [15b] udārāṇāṃ vismayotsāhavardhaṇam |
utsāhaghnaṃ ca mandānāṃ sarvasvenāpi kāraya || 12
utsṛjyāmutra gantavyaṃ sarvasvam avaśena te |
dharme niyuktaṃ yāty eva purastāt sarvam eva tat || 13
sarvasvaṃ pūrvanṛpateḥ nṛpasya vaśam āgataṃ |
kiṃ pūrvakasya dharmāya sukhāya yaśase 'pi vā || 14
bhuktād arthād iha sukhaṃ dattāt pāratrikaṃ sukham |
abhuktādattanaṣṭatvād duḥkham eva kutaḥ sukhaṃ || 15
vinaśyan sacivair dātum asvātantryān na śakyasi |
āpatichedaniḥsnehair navarājapriyaiṣibhiḥ || 16
sarvasvenāpy ataḥ svasthaḥ śīghraṃ dharmāspadaṃ kuru |
mṛtyupratyayamadhyasthaḥ pravātasthapradīpavat || 17
dharmādhikārā ye cānye pūrvarājapravartitāḥ |
devadroṇyādayas te 'pi pravartyantāṃ yathā sthitāḥ || 18
ahiṃsakaiḥ śubhācārair vratasthair atithipriyaiḥ |
sarvakṣamair akalahair bhajyeraṃs taiḥ sado(dya)taiḥ || 19
andhavyādhitahīnāṅgadīnānāthavanīpakāḥ |
te 'py annapānaṃ sāmyena labherann avighaṭṭitāḥ || 20
anarthīnām api satāṃ dhārmikāṇāṃ anugrahān |
apy anyarājyasaṃsthānāṃ anurūpān pravarttaya || 21
sarvadharmādhikāreṣu dharmādhikṛtam utthitaṃ |
alubdhaṃ paṇḍitaṃ dharmyaṃ kuru teṣāṃ abādhakaṃ || 22
nītijñān dhārmikān snigdhān śucīn bhaktān akātarān |

kulīnān śīlasampannān [16a] kṛtajñān sacivān kuru || 23
akṣudrāṃs tyāginaḥ śūrān snigdhān sambhoginaḥ sthirān |
kuru nityāpramattāṃs ca dhārmikān daṇḍanāyakān || 24
dharmaśīlān śucīn dakṣān kāryajñān śāstrakovidān |
kṛtavṛttīn samān snigdhān vṛddhān adhikṛtan kuru || 25
pratimāsaṃ ca tebhyas tvaṃ sarvam āyavyayaṃ śṛṇu |
śrutvā dharmādhikārādyaṃ kāryaṃ sarvaṃ svayaṃ vada || 26
dharmārthaṃ yadi te rājyaṃ na kīrtyarthaṃ na kāmataḥ |
tataḥ saphalam atyartham anarthārtham ato 'nyathā || 27
parasparāmiṣībhūte loke 'smin prāyaśo nṛpa |
yathā rājyaṃ ca dharmaś ca bhavet tava tathā śṛṇu || 28
jñānavṛddhā kule jātā nyāyajñāḥ pāpabhīravaḥ |
sametā bahavo nityaṃ santu te kāryadarśinaḥ || 29
daṇḍabandhaprahārādīn kuryus te nyāyato 'pi cet |
kāruṇyārdraḥ sadā bhūtvā tvam anugrahavān bhava || 30
hitāyaiva tvayā cittam unnāmyaṃ sarvadehinām |
kāruṇyāt satataṃ rājaṃs tīvrapāpakṛtām api || 31
tīvrapāpeṣu hiṃsreṣu kṛpā kāryā viśeṣataḥ |
ta eva hi kṛpāsthānaṃ hatāmāno mahātmanām || 32
pratyahaṃ pañcarātraṃ vā baddhān kṣīṇān vimocaya |
śeṣān api yathāyogaṃ mā kāṃścit naiva mocaya || 33
yeṣv amokṣaṇacittaṃ te jāyate teṣv 'asaṃvaraḥ |
tasmād asaṃvarāt pāpam ajasraṃ upacīyate || 34
[16b] yāvac ca na vimucyerams tāvat syuḥ sukhabandhanāḥ
nāpitasnānapānānnabhaiṣajyavasanānvitāḥ || 35
apātreṣv iva putreṣu pātrīkaraṇakāṅkṣayā |
kāruṇy [āt tāḍanaṃ kāryaṃ na dveṣān] nārthalipsayā || 36
vimṛśya samyag vijñāya praduṣṭān ghātakān api |
ahatvā pīḍayitvā ca kuru nirviṣayān narān || 37
svatantraḥ paśya sarvaṃ ca viṣayaṃ cāracakṣuṣā |
nityāpramattaḥ smṛtimān kuru kāryaṃ ca dhārmikaṃ || 38
pradānamānasatkārair guṇasthān satataṃ bhaja |
udārair anurūpais tu śeṣān api yathāvidhi || 39
sammānasphitakusumaḥ sampradānamahāphalaḥ |
rājavṛkṣaḥ kṣamācchāyaḥ sevyate bhṛtyapakṣibhiḥ || 40
tyāgaśīlamayo rājā tejasvī bhavati priyaḥ |

śarkarāmodako yadvad elāmaricakarkaśaḥ || 41
mātsyanyāyaś ca te naivaṃ nyāyād rājyaṃ bhaviṣyati |
na cānyāyo na vā'dharmo dharmaś caivaṃ bhaviṣyati || 42
paralokāt tvayā rājyaṃ nānītaṃ nāpi neṣyasi |
dharmāt prāptam ato 'syārthe nādharmaṃ kartum arhasi || 43
rājyena bhāṇḍamūlyena duḥkhabhāṇḍaparamparām |
rājan yathā nārjayasi prayatnaḥ kriyatāṃ tathā || 44
rājyena bhāṇḍamūlyena rājyabhāṇḍaparamparāṃ |
rājan yathā nirviśasi prayatnaḥ kriyatāṃ tathā || 45
caturdvīpām api prāpya pṛthivīṃ cakravartinaḥ [17a] |
śārīraṃ mānasaṃ caiva sukhadvayam idaṃ matam || 46
duḥkhapratikriyāmātraṃ śārīraṃ vedanāsukhaṃ |
saṃjñāmayaṃ mānasaṃ tu kevalaṃ kalpanākṛtaṃ || 47
duḥkhapratikriyāmātram kalpanāmātram eva ca |
lokasya sukhasarvasvaṃ vyartham etad ato'rthataḥ || 48
dvīpadeśapurāvāsapradeśasānavāsasāṃ |
śayyā'nnapānahastyaśvastrīṇāṃ caikaikabhogyatā || 49
yadā ca yatra cittaṃ syāt tadānena sukhaṃ kila |
śeṣāṇām amanaskārāt teṣāṃ vyarthatvam arthataḥ || 50
viṣayān pañcabhiḥ pañca cakṣurādibhir indriyaiḥ |
na kalpayati yed gṛhṇan nāsmāt teṣu tadā sukhaṃ || 51
jānīte viṣayaṃ yaṃ yaṃ yena yenendriyeṇa ca |
tadā na śeṣaiḥ śeṣāṇi vyarthāny eva yatas tadā || 52
indriyair upalabdhasya viṣayasyākṛtiṃ manaḥ |
upalabhya vyatītasya kalpayan manyate sukhaṃ || 53
ekam arthaṃ vijānāti yady apy ekam ihendriyaṃ |
tad apy arthaṃ vinā vyarthaṃ vyartho 'rtho pi ca tad vinā || 54
pratītya mātāpitarau yathoktaḥ putrasambhavaḥ |
cakṣūrūpe pratītyaivam ukto vijñānasaṃbhavaḥ || 55
atītānāgatā vyarthāḥ viṣayāḥ sārdham indriyaiḥ |
taddvayānatiriktatvād vyarthā ye 'pi ca sāmpratāḥ || 56
alātacakraṃ gṛhṇāti yathā cakṣur viparyayāt |
tathendriyāṇi [17b] gṛhṇanti viṣayān sāmpratān iva || 57
indriyāṇīndriyārthāś ca pañcabhūtamayā matāḥ |
pratisvaṃ bhūtavaiyarthyād eṣāṃ vyarthatvam arthataḥ || 58
nirindhano 'gnir bhūtānāṃ vinirbhāge prasajyate |

samparke lakṣaṇābhāvaḥ śeṣeṣv apy eṣa nirṇayaḥ || 59
evam dvidhāpi bhūtānāṃ vyarthatvāt saṅgatir vṛthā |
vyarthatvāt saṅgateś caivaṃ rūpaṃ vyartham ato 'rthataḥ || 60
vijñānavedanāsaṃjñāsaṃskārāṇām ca sarvaśaḥ |
pratyekam ātmavaiyarthyād vaiyarthyaṃ paramārthataḥ || 61
sukhābhimāno duḥkhasya pratīkāre yathārthataḥ |
tathā dukhābhimāno 'pi sukhasya pratighātajaḥ || 62
sukhe saṃyogatṛṣṇaivaṃ naiḥsvābhāvyāt prahīyate |
duḥkhe viyogatṛṣṇā ca paśyatāṃ muktir ity ataḥ || 63
kaḥ paśyatīti cec cittaṃ vyavahāreṇa kathyate |
na hi caittaṃ vinā cittaṃ vyarthatvān na saheṣyate || 64
vyartham evaṃ jagan matvā yāthābhūtyān nirāspadaḥ |
nirvāti nirupādāno nirupādānavahnivat || 65
bodhisattvo 'pi dṛṣṭvaivaṃ sambodhau niyato mataḥ |
kevalaṃ tv asya kāruṇyād ābodher bhavasaṃtatiḥ || 66
bodhisattvasya sambhāro mahāyāne tathāgataiḥ |
nirdiṣṭaḥ sa tu sammūḍhaiḥ pradviṣṭaiś caiva nindyate || 67
guṇadoṣānabhijño vā doṣasaṃjñī guṇeṣu vā |
athavāpi guṇadveṣī mahāyānasya nindakaḥ || 68
paropaghātino [18a] doṣān parānugrahiṇo guṇān |
jñātvocyate guṇadveṣī mahāyānasya nindakaḥ || 69
yat svārthanirapekṣatvāt parāthaikarasapriyaṃ |
guṇākaraṃ mahāyānaṃ tad dveṣī tena dahyate || 70
śrāddho 'pi durgṛhītena dviṣyāt kruddho 'thavetaraḥ |
śrāddho 'pi dagdha ity uktaḥ kā cintā dveṣabandhure || 71
viṣeṇāpi viṣaṃ hanyād yathaivoktaṃ cikitsakaiḥ |
duḥkhenāpy ahitaṃ hanyād ity ukte kiṃ virudhyate || 72
manaḥpūrvaṅgamā dharmā manaḥśreṣṭhā iti śruteḥ |
hitaṃ hitamanāḥ kurvan duḥkhenāpy ahitaṃ kathaṃ || 73
duḥkham apy āyatīpathyaṃ kāryaṃ kimu sukhaṃ hitaṃ |
ātmanaś ca pareṣāṃ ca dharma eṣa sanātanaḥ || 74
mātrāsukhaparityāgāt paścāc ced vipulaṃ sukhaṃ |
tyajen mātrāsukhaṃ dhīraḥ sampaśyan vipulaṃ sukhaṃ || 75
na mṛṣyate ca yady etat kaṭubhaiṣajyadāyinaḥ |
tataś cikitsakādyāś ca hatā naivaṃ ca yujyate || 76
apathyam api yad dṛṣṭaṃ tat pathyaṃ paṇḍitaiḥ kvacit |

utsargaś cāpavādaś ca sarvaśāstreṣu śaṃsyate || 77
karuṇāpūrvakāḥ sarve niṣyandā jñānanirmalāḥ |
uktā yatra mahāyāne kas tan nindet sacetanaḥ || 78
atyaudāryātigāmbhīryād viṣaṇṇair akṛtātmabhiḥ |
nindyate 'dya mahāyānaṃ mohāt svaparavairibhiḥ || 79
dānaśīlakṣamāvīryadhyānaprajñākṛpātmakaṃ [18b] |
mahāyānam atas tasmin kasmād durbhāṣitaṃ vacaḥ || 80
parārtho dānaśīlābhyāṃ kṣāntyā vīryeṇa cātmanaḥ |
dhyānaṃ prajñā ca mokṣāya mahāyānārthasaṃgrahaḥ || 81
parā[tmahita]mokṣārthāḥ saṃkṣepād buddhaśāsanaṃ |
te saṭpāramitāgarbhās tasmād bauddham idaṃ vacaḥ || 82
puṇyajñānamayo yatra buddhair bodher mahāpathaḥ |
deśitas tan mahāyānam ajñānād vai na dṛśyate || 83
kham ivācintyaguṇatvād ukto 'cintyaguṇo jinaḥ |
mahāyāne yato buddhamāhātmyaṃ kṣamyatām idam || 84
āryaśāradvatasyāpi śīlamātre 'py agocaraḥ |
yasmāt tad buddhamāhātmyam acintyaṃ kiṃ na mṛṣyate || 85
anutpādo mahāyāne pareṣāṃ śūnyatā kṣayaḥ |
kṣayānutpādāyoś caikyam arthataḥ kṣamyatāṃ yataḥ || 86
śūnyatābuddhamāhātmyam evaṃ yuktyānupaśyatāṃ |
mahāyānetaroktāni na sameyuḥ kathaṃ satāṃ || 87
tathāgatābhisandhyoktāny asukhaṃ jñātum ity ataḥ |
ekayānatriyānoktād ātmā rakṣya upekṣayā || 88
upekṣayā hi nāpuṇyam dveṣāt pāpaṃ kutaḥ śubhaṃ |
mahāyāne yato dveṣo nātmakāmaiḥ kṛto 'rhati || 89
na bodhisattvapraṇidhir na caryāpariṇāmanā |
uktāḥ śrāvakayāne 'smād bodhisattvaḥ kutas tataḥ || 90
adhiṣṭhānāni noktāni [19a] bodhisattvasya bodhaye |
buddhair anyat pramāṇaṃ ca ko 'smin arthe jinādhikaḥ || 91
adhiṣṭhānāryasatyārthabodhipakṣopasaṃhitāt |
mārgāc chrāvakasāmānyād bauddhaṃ kenādhikaṃ phalaṃ || 92
bodhicaryāpratiṣṭhārthaṃ na sūtre bhāṣitaṃ vacaḥ |
bhāṣitaṃ ca mahāyāne grāhyam asmād vicakṣaṇaiḥ || 93
yathaiva vaiyākaraṇo mātṛkām api pāṭhayet |
buddho 'vadat tathā dharmaṃ vineyānāṃ yathākṣamaṃ || 94
keṣāṃcid avadad dharmaṃ pāpebhyo vinivṛttaye |

keṣāṃcit puṇyasiddhyarthaṃ keṣāṃcid dvayaniḥśritam || 95
dvayāniśritam ekeṣāṃ gāmbhīraṃ bhīrubhīṣaṇam |
śūnyatākaruṇāgarbham ekeṣāṃ bodhisādhanam || 96
iti sadbhir mahāyāne kartavyaḥ pratighakṣayaḥ |
prasādaś cādhikaḥ kāryaḥ samyaksaṃbodhisiddhaye || 97
mahāyānaprasādena taduktācaraṇena ca |
prāpyate 'nuttarā bodhiḥ sarvasaukhyāni cāntarā || 98
dānaśīlakṣamāsatyam gṛhasthasya viśeṣataḥ |
dharma uktaḥ kṛpāgarbhaḥ sa sātmīkriyatāṃ dṛḍhaṃ || 99
atha lokasya vaidharmyād rājyaṃ dharmeṇa duṣkaraṃ |
tato dharmayaśo'rthaṃ te pravujyādhigamaḥ kṣamaḥ || 100
ratnāvalyāṃ rājavṛttopadeśe nāma caturthaḥ paricchedaḥ |
268.

(*To be continued.*)

Four Anthologies of Arabic Poetry

By F. Krenkow

'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz; Kitāb al-Badī'. Ed. by Ignatius Kratchkovsky. pp. 142 and 31. Gibb Memorial New Series, No. 10. London, 1935.

Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Yahyā aṣ-Ṣūlī, Kitāb al-Awrāḳ. Ed. by J. Heyworth Dunne. pp. 256 and 17. London, 1934.

Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, Dīwān al-Ma'ānī. Ed. by Ḥusām ad-Dīn al-Qudsī. pp. 368 and 269. Cairo, 1352.

Isma'īl b. Aḥmad b. Ziyādat Allāh at-Tujībī al-Barqī; al-Mukhtār min Shi'r Bashshār. Ed. by Sayyid Muḥammad Badr ad-Dīn al-'Alawī. pp. 341, 15, 27, 9 and 9. Cairo, 1353 (1934). Lajnat at-Ta'līf.

It is remarkable that four important works on the criticism of Arabic poetry, and at the same time anthologies, should appear in one year and, to avoid any misunderstanding, I shall deal with them in the chronological order of the deaths of their authors.

'Abd Allāh, son of the caliph al-Mu'tazz, lived the life of a patron of letters and men of learning and no doubt his social position as the son of a ruler not only assured him an ample income, but also attracted to a prince of his literary tastes men of similar inclinations. These men were also responsible for inducing him to be proclaimed caliph on Saturday the 20th of Rabī' I, 296 (18th December, 908), and one of the chief leaders in the movement was his friend Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jarrāḥ, who was appointed Wazīr. The coup was unsuccessful and both Ibn al-Mu'tazz and Ibn al-Jarrāḥ were killed the following day. Ibn al-Mu'tazz was born in Sha'bān 247, and consequently was not 49 years old

when he was killed. The work on the *New Style* was written in the year 274 when he was a young man of 27 years and, if such a comparison may be made, resembles both in size and contents a modern dissertation for the doctorate. As the first work upon the subject of literary criticism, unless we can call the Ṭabaqāt of al-Jumaḥī such, it is not very exhaustive, but, as the learned editor has proved, served as a basis for later works and almost all have made ample use of its contents, both avowedly and anonymously. There cannot be any doubt that we possess the genuine work of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, and probably complete, apart from possible trivial omissions, due to copyists, as indicated by the editor in the critical notes. The examples, with very few exceptions, are drawn from well-known authors, both in prose and verse. There are a few exceptions. No. 190 is attributed to Abul Ghamr at-Ṭuhawī, while No. 115, cited anonymously, is attributed by al-Qālī to a poet named Abul Ghamr al-Jabalī. Both pieces without doubt belong to the same poem. Abul Ghamr is not known otherwise unless he is Abul Ghamr Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Āmulī, a humorous poem of whom is cited in the Dīwān al-Ma'ānī of Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (i, 196), on the authority of Abū Bakr ibn al-Anbārī. The verses in question are repeated in the works of authors who have copied from the Kitāb al-Badī'. The attribution of these verses by Sharīshī to Abul Ghūl, as indicated in the notes, is one of the many errors committed by substituting the name of a well-known poet for that of an unknown one, and has no weight. The verses of Abūl Ghūl, who lived to the time of the grammarian al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī (Abū Zaid, Nawādir 58) do not show such bad taste as found in the verses of this Abul Ghamr. No. 126 Manṣūr b. al-Faraj is known only from the Kitāb al-Badī' and such works which have borrowed from it, and he is not mentioned by al-Marzubānī in his Mu'jam nor by the Khaṭīb in the Tārīkh Baghdād, yet he must have lived in the early part of the third century of the Hijra.

In the English introduction the editor gives a clear account

of the importance of the work, but this introduction has unfortunately suffered by translation, which in several places is beyond my comprehension. On p. 16 the words: "Since the manuscript itself, being unique, gives no *purchase* for an investigation, etc.," are probably meant to say "gives no clue" or "does not permit an investigation." On p. 18 the words "the use made of the *Kitab al-Badi'* is more frequent than al-'Askari thinks it necessary to mention" are meant to say: "al-'Askari makes so frequently use of the Kitāb al-Badī' that he has not considered it necessary to mention the fact each time." I am altogether at a loss to know what is meant, p. 20, by: "We find a definition of the term *jins* with a rather *obscure transition*." Again, on p. 24, the words: "Only C. Lang in his critical remarks called out by the work of the latter, recalled it to mind." It appears to mean that the manuscript of the Kitāb al-Badī' was mentioned once more by C. Lang when he wrote a criticism on the work of Loth. In many other cases it is only too obvious that the translator of the introduction has only been too liberal in the use of the dictionary and the choice of big words, with disastrous results.

In the Arabic text, 14, 3, read اتَذوّق (misprint); 17, 5, I think this should read جاذبة الزمام as جاهلة does not give any sense. 34, 3, I prefer the vocalization لُحَة to distinguish it from لَحْمَة "a piece of flesh". 47, 13, read اوَامِش, cf. Ṭabarī Index and Marzubānī, Muwashshah 334, 2. p. 70, the poet's name is Abū Duwād without Hamza, an ancient diminutive of Dūd = worm. The name appears to be confined to persons who claimed to belong to the tribe Iyād, e.g. the wazir Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād. The word is triptoton. The Hamza, if found in MSS., is due to a false analogy with the name Dā'ūd. p. 71, 8, read with the Diwan

شَرَف "height"; I know شُرَف only as a plural with the meaning "pinnacle". p. 74, 9, read خَصْر with Fatḥ = "waist".

As regards the indices I regret to say that I can read them only with the aid of a magnifying glass.

I differ from the author in several cases in the definitions of the vocabulary. أَتِيّ is *not* "a rivulet", it is "a wild torrent coming from an unknown distant place". Examples of its sweeping away *camels* are found. حَلَمَة means "nipple of the breast" (whether of a woman or a man). أَسَفَّ means "to skim the ground in flying" *not* "to approach the earth". It is also used of clouds which drift along at a low altitude. As an example of many the often cited verse of 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, 28, v 7, may suffice. Anyone who has observed swallows before thunder will understand what is meant. لَدْم is more than "a tap", it means "a heavy thud". لَهَاة does *not* mean "Jaws, nor throat" but "the uvula in the throat". نُخَاعَة means "thick glutinous mucus, phlegm". The word "humour" has no such meaning in modern English. هَرَّ does *not* mean "to whine" but "to growl". It is the voice of a dog when angry and the lexica explain it correctly as coming from the inside of the dog. أَهْلَب does not mean "coarse-haired" but "fuzzy", it is derived from the tuft of fine hair at the end of the camel's

tail. جامعة does not mean "collar" but "handcuffs with which the two hands (or feet) are fettered together".

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā aṣ-Ṣūlī came from a family which for several generations had been in the service of the caliphs and his earliest biographer, al-Marzubānī, says of him in his Mu'jam: Our Shaikh, upon whom God have mercy, was a Nadīm (close companion or courtier) of the caliph al-Muktafī Billāh; he had wide knowledge and excellent memory in the domain of belles-lettres, was intelligent in the composition of books and he placed many things in this branch of learning into their proper places. He died in al-Basra in A.H. 336. His poems are many. Marzubānī cites four fragments. The Khaṭīb in the history of Baghdād devotes a long article (iii, 427–432) to him in which he repeats some sentences of Marzubani verbatim. Interesting is the account of the magnificent library aṣ-Ṣūlī possessed. The books were arranged in rows in a room on the ground floor, each row being bound in a different colour. The Khatīb gives as the date of his death either 335 or 336, but the last date agrees with the statement of Marzubānī and that of Ibn al-Jauzī in the Muntaẓam. He had fled from Baghdad as high and low were on the look-out for him, because he had made in one of his works a statement about 'Alī which displeased them and they were now in power with the Shī'ah Buwaihis ruling. Several of his works are preserved. The Adab al-Kātib has been published in Cairo, 1341. The Akhbār Abī Tammām exist in manuscript and are being prepared for edition by an Indian scholar, while several manuscript recensions of early poets still exist. A complete list of his works, as mentioned by his biographers, is found in the introduction of the edition of the Adab al-Kātib mentioned above, but some of the titles will have to be cancelled as they are referring either to the same work under another name, or form part of larger works. That he did *not*

compose the Akhbār Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq al-Mauṣilī is proved from the last lines of the work under consideration. Ibn al-Jarrāḥ had composed a work of biographical notices which he called *al-Waraqa* (the leaf) because only one leaf was devoted to each biography and probably aṣ-Ṣūlī called this work of his *al-Aurāq* because the biographies filled several pages. The Kitāb al-Auraq is of an anecdotical character, and the editor tells us in his introduction that of the seven or eight volumes, of which the work originally consisted, four portions are preserved in different libraries and the present volume represents the last volume. Unfortunately the beginning of this volume is lost, but the editor has most ably supplied the beginning of the biography of the poet Abān al-Lāḥiqī from other accessible sources by authors who have copied the work of aṣ-Ṣūlī. The original manuscript is not distinguished by a good text, and all credit is due to the editor in producing a good text, considering that most of the prose texts and poetry are not found elsewhere. The reason for so much new material is principally because the poets mentioned are of the second and third order, and probably only Abān and Ashja' as-Sulamī can be described as poets by profession. The poems contained in this volume, taken as a whole, are of a very inferior type, and I should say this especially of Ashja', the poet of the Barmakīs, and one wonders whether they considered that they got good value for their lavishly spent money. In reading these poems I was forcibly reminded of the tale about Sulaimān b. Wahb (Muwashshāḥ 352), to whom a poet addressed a poem in condolence with the death of his mother. Sulaiman turned to those present and said: "Has anyone ever before been so severely tried? My mother has died and she was the dearest on earth to me, and now I am condoled with such an elegy! He gives me two patronyms, neither of which I know, and once he calls me Sulaim and the next time Sālim, and omits the name which my parents gave me! Has ever anyone been tried like I am tried?"

If one has to pass such judgment upon the poetry found in this volume, it does not detract from the merit of the editor, for this volume gives us an insight into what depths poetry had sunk and also what price patrons, who as a rule had become wealthy by robbing the public treasury, would pay for insipid praise to satisfy their vanity.

More important are in my opinion the accounts dealing with Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Ṣabīḥ, wazīr of al-Ma'mūn, and his family. Here we find aṣ-Ṣūlī correcting Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr, author of the Kitāb Baghdād. Then he says: "I saw him in al-Baṣra in 277 when he came there to visit Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Mādarā'ī, and I copied two or three of his lectures. But when I saw that he was a man who derived his knowledge from books and I did not see in him what I wanted, I left him. It is hard for me to speak evil of any man of learning or that I should belittle him, but there is no help, one must give learning its due and speak the truth in its place."

Speaking of the work of the editor one can only praise his carefulness, though often one would like a vowel, while a good many are superfluous. I believe I have read the whole book with care, and give below a few cases where I discovered errors. I hope that Mr. Dunne will not let us wait too long for the remaining volumes which he proposes to publish.

p. 17, 12, read اصبغ. p. 21, 8, read يُبْزِغُ الارماح إِبْزاغا "he makes the lances pierce like an awl (pierces leather)". p. 75, 4, أنْ added after كاد is wrong in good Arabic (*vide* grammars). p. 85, 12, read المهرق المنشور "the spread-out parchment". p. 91, 13, read خُفاف meant is Khufāf ibn Nadba, the poet. p. 92, 2, read الجَحّاف.

p. 92, 3, read الفرّاف. p. 92, 10, read خوذٍ, in apposition to الرباب. p. 95, 10, read العنان. p. 100, 13, read دورها. p. 100, 14, تزورني. p. 110, 12, read جُحْرها. p. 150, 4, read تهذره. p. 150, 17, read أخافه "made him fear". p. 151, 10, in two copies which I possess some name after Muḥammad b. Ziyad is not legible, through the type having broken off. In the following line شبيا (according to Yaqut a village near Bukhārā) may be right, I do not know. p. 154, 7, read حتفُ شباة كلّ جلس طامح. p. 156, 18, probably فأنخسه "and worry him". نَخَسَ أزعج is generally construed with ب. p. 158, 2, here is something missing, perhaps we should read قال علمته ما كان بيني وبين ابيه. p. 164, 14. الحصان without Tashdid "a chaste woman". p. 176, 17, probably الشاه مرْغ "a falcon" lit. "the kingbird".

The Dīwān al-Ma'ānī of Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī carries us a generation further. His borrowings from Ibn al-Mu'tazz have been mentioned and also to aṣ-Ṣūlī he owes a debt for borrowings, though as a rule when he cites aṣ-Ṣūlī it is through Abū Aḥmad al-'Askari. Yāqūt in the Irshād tells us that for years he was unable to obtain reliable information about the two scholars bearing the Nisba al-'Askarī, but finally succeeded in Damascus from information furnished by

as-Silafī (Irshād, iii, 126–139). Abū Aḥmad was born in 293 and died in 382, but he could not ascertain the date of the death of Abū Hilāl, except that he found in a manuscript of his Kitāb al-Awā'il that he completed that work in 395. (We find a similar statement at the end of the printed edition of his Kitāb aṣ-Ṣinā'atain that he completed that work in 394.) He may have died soon after, as 395 is sometimes given as the date of his death. The uncertainty about the lives of the two 'Askaris may be due to their having spent the greater part of their lives in 'Askar Mukram in Khūzistān. Both, as is proved from their existing works, were men of profound learning, sound judgment, and good taste. If we find in the Kitāb aṣ-Ṣinā'atain of Abū Hilāl how much further the science of literary criticism had advanced since the time of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, the anthology under consideration is a further proof of his discernment. The work is divided into twelve parts, each subdivided in sections. The amount of poetry included is very considerable, and as a rule quotations are introduced by words like: "The best saying on this subject which I have found is the following." Or in other cases he excuses himself for citing poor specimens by saying that he does so that all sides of the question come under review. Until recently only one manuscript was accessible, that in the British Museum, but the editor, Ḥusām ad-Dīn al-Qudsī, found in the State Library at Cairo copies by Shinqīṭī and Shaikh 'Abdoh, which decided him to attempt an edition, though the first volume of the manuscripts mentioned left much to be desired in respect of correctness. He asked me to read through the work *after* the sheets were printed off and most of my emendations are printed in the rather long lists of errata at the end of each volume. The manuscript in the British Museum proved in many cases to present a better text, and Dr. Tritton had the kindness of verifying a number of passages before I was able to procure photos.

In addition to being one of the largest anthologies of early times, we find in this book some curious information upon

entirely other matters. Vol. ii, 148, he informs us that al-Āmidī wrote a *book on flies* and apparently had no knowledge whatever of the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* of al-Jāḥiẓ, and that the book of Āmidī contained matter which cannot be found in the work of al-Jāḥiẓ. Nobody interested in Arabic poetry can neglect this book, which is printed in a pleasant type, and considering the large amount of otherwise unknown poetry the text is very good, though one would at times have liked a more liberal vocalization. The chapter on the various kinds of food offers difficulties which cannot always be solved by existing dictionaries. An index of the poets cited adds to the usefulness of the work.

The Mukhtār Ash'ār Bashshār offers a worthy supplement to the works discussed above. If any poet was responsible for the introduction of the *New Style* (al-Badī') it was Bashshār. His biography at considerable length is found in the Kitāb al-Aghānī, iii, 19–73 (old edition, iii, 19–73), and verses of his are scattered in several other volumes of that work and almost every work dealing with Arabic poetry. Bashshār was battered to death by command of the caliph al-Mahdī in A.H. 167 or 168, at the age of nearly sixty years. Some years ago appeared in Cairo a small volume pretending to be the Dīwān of this poet. The copy I possessed has been lost through lending, but I had written an article containing a supplement of more than double the quantity of verse contained in the above-mentioned Dīwān, with a view of publishing it, but fortunately I desisted. Entirely unknown to literary history was the selection of Bashshār's poetry made by the two brothers, Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id, sons of Hāshim known as al-Khālidiyān, who as poets frequented the court of Saif ad-Daula at Ḥalab, and are known as the joint compilators of an anthology of modern poets, known under the title of Ḥamāsa, a copy of which is preserved in the State Library at Cairo. It is this selection of the poems of Bashshār which an otherwise unknown North African scholar

Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad b. Ziyādat Allāh at-Tujībī al-Barqī made the basis of an anthology of early Arabic poetry. This Tujībī must have led a wandering life, for in this work he mentions having been in Sicily, then after the year 400 we find him in Spain, in 406 in Malaga, but in 415 he was in Egypt, which is the latest date mentioned. As Abū Bakr al-Khālidī died in 380 and his brother, Abū 'Uthmān, about the year 400, the Mukhtār must have reached North Africa at an early date after its composition. Maulawi 'Abd al-'Azīz Maiman, in an introduction to the edition, has, as far as possible from availing sources, tried to elucidate the historical data found scattered in the work. While in Aligarh I went with Sayyid Badr ad-Din through the whole work and, to make sure that he had read the original correctly, I had the original codex before me while he compared his copy made from the same. The original, the property of the State Library of Ḥaidarābād, has lost a considerable portion at the beginning (mentioned by the editor in his introduction) and is well-written and in a good state of preservation. The text in general is good and errors of the scribe have been corrected by the editor, who has had the assistance of his learned colleague, Maulawi 'Abd al-'Aziz, whose knowledge of Arabic poetry is perhaps unequalled by any living scholar. The result is that we have an almost faultless text which is a great credit to Sayyid Badr ad-Din. He has in the footnotes given references to a great number of other works, including the Kitāb al-La'ālī' of Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī (a critique of the Amālī of al-Qālī which 'Abd al-'Aziz intends to publish). These notes prove again the confusion which has been caused in Arabic literature by careless attribution of verses to wrong authors. The indices enable us to find quickly the names of the poets and all verses cited in the work. I do not know why, but strangely the editor has *not* given these references for the verses of the poet whose poems form the basis of the work. I know that he intended to publish as a separate work a collection of all verses of Bashshār which he had collected from many sources.

This labour, I fear, is unfortunately wasted, for the Shaikh al-Islām Sīdī Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭāhir ben 'Ashūr of Tunis informed me that he possesses a manuscript of the complete Dīwān of Bashshār, containing some eight thousand verses, which he hopes to publish at an early date with a commentary. When this collection of his poetry is available we shall be able to judge much better than by the guidance of Arabic critics how far the poetry of Bashshār has influenced that of Abū Nuwās and hundreds of the later poets who followed in their steps.

The Muntaẓam of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Jauzi

An Arabic proverb says: "To hear of the Mu'aiddī is a different thing from seeing him." So it is with this chronicle. In catalogues of manuscripts and Brockelmann's *History of Arabic Literature* mention is made of the odd volumes which are found in European libraries. In 1907 Horovitz gave an account of other manuscripts found by him in Eastern libraries,[1] and Gabrieli[2] a summary of contents. In a long article in this journal[3] de Somogyi gave a detailed description of the manuscripts preserved in England, while Amedroz had published in the notes to his edition of the literary remains of Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi' extracts supplementing the statements of Hilāl from the Berlin and Paris manuscripts. Probably others have drawn upon these last two mentioned manuscripts. Finally Hashim Nadwī in his Taḏkirat an-Nawādir[4] enumerates this chronicle as one of the works which the Dairat al-ma'arif intends to publish. Though Horovitz and Gabrieli enumerate manuscript copies and de Somogyi gives long details of the contents of the manuscripts examined by him, none of them makes a statement as to the *real* value of the work nor the quality of the manuscripts. The most valuable account on the copies existing in Istanbul is by O. Spies in his *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*

[1] *MSOS.*, vol. x, 1907, pp. 6 ff.
[2] *RRAL.*, 1916, pp. 1159 ff.
[3] *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 49–76.
[4] *Hydcrābād*, 1350, p. 75.

(pp. 61–9), in which he also gives a summary of the years covered by those manuscripts.

I fear de Somogyi did not quite realize the *defects* of this history in the volumes he considered in his article. It is *useless* to give for any historical account the final authority only. A close examination reveals that Ibn al-Jauzi, working at great speed *to produce another book*, availed himself of the early volumes of a *few* historical works by predecessors. He copies the chronicle of Ṭabari word for word, omitting in most cases the most precious details, carefully *avoiding* embarrassing names. His second source is the Tārīkh of the Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, which he extracts; but again he leaves out much that is of importance and, as a rule, most of the names of the Shaikhs, making a selection only which to me appears made for the purpose of establishing *his own chains* of traditionists. It is only when he enters upon the domains of polemics against heretics or Shī'ahs that he adds something new. I would for this reason proclaim the earlier half of the work [1] as *utterly worthless*, and some twenty pages in a journal would in all probability fill all that is new.

As a Muhaddith he gives for his accounts, except where he has drawn from books for which he had no Riwāya, the chain of authorities. He has none for Ṭabarī, but for other works which he has used we find it hundreds of times the same. For the Tārīkh Baghdād it is Abu Manṣūr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz [2] after the Khaṭīb; for the Tārīkh Naisabūr by al-Ḥākim it is Zāhir b. Ṭāhir [3] after Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Baihaqī [4] after al-Ḥākim; for the history of Ṣūfīs by Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥman as-Sulamī it is Muḥammad b. Nāṣir [5] after Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Ali b. Khalaf [6] after as-Sulamī; for the Nishwār of Tanūkhī it is Muḥammad b.

[1] In the set of manuscripts Aya Sofia, 3093–3098, the work is divided into eight volumes, while those Köprülü, 1174 and 1173, belong to a copy consisting of four volumes. The last volume, comprising the years 521–574 (A.S. 3098), is only of half the size of the other volumes.

[2] Died A.H. 535. [3] Died 535. [4] Died A.H. 458.

[5] Died A.H. 550. [6] Died A.H. 487.

'Abd al-Bāqī[1] after Tanūkhī. He has for the later portions of his work made use of the works of Abū Bakr as-Ṣūlī, Sinān b. Thābit aṣ-Ṣābi', but as he does not give any intermediary authorities, it is quite certain that he used them as books. Now and then he also has drawn upon the Tārīkh Miṣr by Ibn Yūnus, but it is quite evident that he had the book at hand only at times, and the extracts are by no means exhaustive. As a stray bird one Spaniard Baqī b. Makhlad has two lines under the year A.H. 276.[2]

As regards the author himself I have pointed out that he must have worked in great haste and this accounts for many very bad mistakes on his part. On several occasions he has made a mistake of a hundred years in the obituary notices. So far I have discovered the following, all of which he has taken from the Tārīkh Baghdād. As the printed text of the Muntaẓam is not available I cite the passages under the years in which they are found in the work: A.H. 320, al-Ḥasan b. ar-Rabī' al-Baja'ī, died 220; A.H. 339, al-Ḥasan b. Dā'ūd b. Bābshādh, died 439; A.H. 344, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qāḍī as-Samnānī, died 444; A.H. 346, al-Ḥasan b. Khalaf, died 246; A.H. 347, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ghandajānī, died 447; A.H. 351, Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar died 251; A.H. 354, Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad at-Tanūkhī, died 358.[3]

There are more cases like this, but they prove that he did not look long enough into his book to discover his error. For a Muḥaddith whose memory was proverbial it is astonishing that he did not discover his error when he enumerated the Shaikhs whom he should have known to have died long before or after the person under notice.

In two cases, so far, I have discovered that he gives the

[1] Died A.H. 535. He cites many passages verbatim as found in the portions edited by Professor Margoliouth as well as others taken from the lost volumes. These extracts are often without curtailment, contrary with his habit in citing from other works.

[2] That this biography is also taken from the Tārīkh of Ibn Yūnus is clear from the Ṣilah of Ibn Pascual, p. 122, line 15.

[3] All these biographies are taken from the Tārīkh Baghdad and I have found over twenty such errors, which will be noted in the footnotes of the edition.

obituary notices under *two* different years, because he used different books or made his notes at different times and blundered once. These are: 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. 'Adī is mentioned as having died in 320 and 323; Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Ḥusain Ibn as-Sukkarī is stated to have died in A.H. 342 and 355.

A special feature of the Muntaẓam is the animosity displayed against other sects, especially the Shī'ah and Ash'aris, attacks against whom recur whenever the author has an opportunity. The last volume, which deals with events of the author's lifetime, is filled with swaggering vanity of his prowess as a preacher and with pride he mentions that the congregations of competitors were attended by far smaller numbers than his own. His contemporary, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī, also of the Ḥanbalī Madhab is, in quite a modern way, almost ignored.[1]

As specimens of his adverse criticism of men who have been and are to this day acknowledged as ranking among the greatest Arabic authors, I translate the biographies of Abul Faraj al-Iṣbahāni and Ibn as-Sam'ānī, the author of the Ansāb, as they give the student an idea what he may expect.

Among the obituaries of the year A.H. 356 we read: 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Haiṯam b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Marwān Abul Faraj al-Iṣbahānī the Kātib. He transmitted traditions after Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Haḍramī Muṭayyin[2] and a quantity of others. He principally transmitted historical tales and belles-lettres. He was learned in the *Days* of the people and biographies. He was a poet and composed many books, among them the

[1] Under the year 571 he has four lines of a biography of Ibn 'Asākir, in which he tells us that he heard many Ḥadīth and composed a history of Damascus in eighty big volumes and that he was one of the supporters of the Ash'arī school, even writing a book named Tahdhīb al-Muftarī (printed Damascus, 1347). This biography has caused the copyist of the manuscript to insert a protest in which he says that Ibn al-Jauzi's words "He had knowledge" were uncalled for as Ibn al-Asakir was a better scholar than Ibn al-Jauzi.

[2] This is an apparent act of spitefulness as Muṭayyin, who is the only Shaikh of al-Iṣbahānī whom he mentions by name, was considered as untrustworthy (*vide Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 233).

Aghānī (Book of Songs) and the book of the Ayyām al-'Arab, in which he mentions one thousand and seven hundred battle-days. Ad-Dāraquṭni transmits on his authority, but he had Shī'ah tendencies and such people cannot be trusted in their Riwāya, for in his books he openly mentions what must be called prevarication, and he makes little of drinking wine, nay, he at times relates that of himself. Anyone who looks into the Kitāb al-Aghānī can see all that is evil and disapproved. He died in Ḏul-Hijja of this year.

Among the obituaries of the year A.H. 563 figures Ibn as-Sam'ānī. He says of him: "'Abd al-Karīm b. Manṣūr Abū Sa'd as-Sam'ānī. He came to Baghdād in the year 32, and studied with me under the Shaikhs and travelled. He composed an appendix to the Tārīkh Baghdād after Shujā' aḏ-Ḏuhlī had written something of an appendix. Also Abul Faḍl ibn Khairūn had written on the deceases of the Shaikhs and he gathered from our Shaikhs like 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and others, who survived, such matter as was suitable to be mentioned from the time of the Khaṭīb to his time, except that he had a bias against the followers of the Maḏhab of Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal) and went out of his way to mention a number of our people and criticize them adversely where adverse criticism was not deserved. He said concerning 'Abd al-Qādir that he does his teaching in samples (Shastaka), yet the man was visibly ill. He says of Ibn Nāṣir that he loved to criticize others adversely. Yet *this one* took the bulk of his book from him and uses his words when criticizing scholars, and in this manner disparages only what he himself says in everything which he brings forward in the way of criticism on his authority; and he ought not to cite him as an authority in his criticisms. He, then, ought to have said that he found fault with such and such person and that there was no cause for adverse criticism. What business has a traditionist except criticism? And he who considers *that* a blameworthy accusation does not know anything of this science. So Abu Sa'd cools his anger in his book by what has no real value and he did not succeed in the diffusion of his book on account of

his evil intentions. He died and his hopes were not fulfilled. If anyone were to search for what is found in his book in the way of errors, mixed-up genealogies, and the records of the *deaths* of people who are *alive* he would find many things, but time is too precious to waste on matters like this. This man had a strange complaint, he used to take a man from Baghdād and sit with him on the banks of the river 'Īsā [1] and then would say: A man from beyond the river (or Mā warā' an-Nahr) related to me. Then he would sit with him in the Raqqa of Baghdād and say: "Such a one related to me at ar-Raqqa." And so on in this manner, which is not hidden from traditionists (who *are* traditionists). Moreover, he had a bad grasp (of what was required of a critic), for he would say in the biography of a man that he was of fine stature, which is not an argument in praise of a traditionist. Again he would say of an old woman under which he was reading traditions: "She comes from a family of traditionists, her father was a traditionist, her husband is a traditionist, and she is seventy years and over and is chaste." That is not the way of a man who knows what criticism is. In the biography of Ibn Sa-Saifī the poet he says: "The loose folk in Baghdād say he is al-Ḥaiṣ Baiṣ and he has a sister whose name is Dakhala wa Kharaja. No person who has any intellect would mention matters like this, but why shall I enlarge upon these shameful things? Ibn as-Sam'ani died in his country in this year and the news arrived (in Baghdād) about it."

Complete copies of the Muntaẓam do not exist in European libraries, but in the public libraries in Stambul are preserved a number of manuscripts which make it possible to assemble a complete set. I have at my disposal photos of a set preserved in the Āyā Sofia (3096–8) which contain the sixth to eighth volumes covering the years A.H. 285 to 574, written in a uniform hand. The last volume of this set, for the years 521–574, is at present the only one of which a MS. is known to me, unless there may be a copy in the Serāi as indicated by Spies. For comparison I have also photos of the MS.

[1] On the western side of Baghdād.

Köprülü 1174, originally the latter portion of the *third* volume in a set divided into four volumes. If the text of the Ayā Sofia MSS. leaves much to be desired as regards correctness, this latter MS., apparently written by a Persian or Turk, is simply full of errors of all kinds. Names like al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, 'Amr and 'Umar all are alike to the scribe, and as if Iblis had been looking over his shoulders generally the wrong name is found in this MS. However, occasionally this manuscript contains biographies which the Āyā Sofia MSS. have omitted, and I have had to get the assistance of the Paris MS. (No. 5909) in cases where the text of the Stambul MSS. was hopelessly wrong. There can, as far as I am able to ascertain, be no question of different recensions. Omissions or additions in one manuscript or the other are simply due to the carelessness of the scribes. As the author did not continue his history beyond the year 574, we may assume that he was too busy in writing more books. Or had times changed? The caliph an-Nasir was perhaps not interested in sermons and preferred pigeon sport and Futuwwa—trousers.

I must say that with the advent of the Saljuq dynasty Ibn al-Jauzi does give us some more historical details, and he frequently cites official correspondence at length. It is for this reason that the publication of the last three volumes should be undertaken before the earlier ones, if these latter may be considered worth the paper and cost of printing.

As so far only one manuscript is known to me of the Muntaẓam for the years 412–574, I have compared the facsimile of the Mir'āt az-Zamān by the author's grandson, Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi, in the facsimile published by Jewet,[1] which contains *some* extracts from the Muntaẓam, but this publication can be of very little use as the manuscript vies with the Köprülü manuscripts of the Muntaẓam in incorrectness.

[1] The Librarian of the School of Oriental Studies has kindly lent me the copy belonging to that Institution, for which I express my thanks in this place.

The Origin of the Ras Shamra Alphabet

By ERIC BURROWS

IN 1931 the cuneiform alphabet of Ras Shamra was derived from the Sinaitic alphabet by M. Sprengling and A. T. Olmstead (*The Alphabet: Its Rise and Development from the Sinaitic Inscriptions*, Chicago)[1]; and in March, 1934, by E. Ebeling, apparently without knowledge of the work of Sprengling and Olmstead, from Babylonian cuneiform (Zur Enstehungsgeschichte des Keilschriftalphabets von Ras Schamra, *Sitz.-Ber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*). In June, 1934, J. G. Février, also independently of Sprengling and Olmstead, showed connections with South Semitic, suggesting that the South Semitic alphabet was for the most part derived from the Ras Shamra cuneiform or from a common source (*Rev. des Études sémitiques*, pp. xiii–xvi). In the same month T. Gaster accepted the theory of Olmstead (*Ancient Egypt*, 1934, p. 34), and in July, 1935, defended in some detail the origin of the Ras Shamra alphabet from a derivative of the Sinaitic approximating to the Phœnician (*PEF. Quarterly*, 135 ff.).

It can hardly be doubted that the derivation of the Ras Shamra cuneiform from the earlier Semitic alphabet is correct.[2] It remains to determine to what stage of the development of the Sinaitic-Canaanite-Phœnician alphabet the alphabet of Ras Shamra corresponds; and to re-investigate the origin of certain signs in the latter (particularly Nos. 1, 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, 20, 21, 22 in the Table). The variant forms of many

[1] Cf. Sayce, writing about the same time in this *Journal* (Oct., 1931, p. 784): "the imitation of [the Phœnician or Sinaitic-Phœnician letters] in the cuneiform script [of Ras Shamra]."

[2] Cf. the suggestion made by M. Virolleaud as early as 1929: "L'alphabet de Ras Shamra est-il plus ancien que celui des Phéniciens? N'en est-il, au contraire, qu'une imitation ou une adaptation?" (*Syria*, 1929, p. 310.)



S- Sinaitic. G- Gezer A- Ain Shems H- Tel-Hesi D- T Duweir P- Phen. X- inversion

signs also deserve more attention than they have yet received.[1]

We now know many letters of the pre-Phœnician Canaanite alphabet from about the period of the Sinaitic inscriptions to that of the earliest Phœnician. The following are the documents :—

1. Gezer potsherd (Taylor, *Journ. of the Pal. Orient. Soc.*, 1930, pp. 17, 80); probably early Bronze II [2000–1600]; giving the letters BNI or BLI (Taylor), BNI (Sprengling, op. cit., p. 45; Butin, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1932, p. 201), BWI ([']yb) (Grimme, *Arch. f. Orientf.*, 1935, p. 268), BLI (Gaster), or perhaps rather BQI, a known proper name.

2. Ain Shems potsherd (Grant, *Ain Shems Excavations*, i, pl. x) may very well belong to last phase of Bronze II (1700–1600) or first of Bronze III (1600–1500), according to the excavator (*Rev. bib.*, 1930, 401); so far as legible a list of names, beginning (with Grimme) *l'z'ḥt*[ ] and ending (it seems) *n'mn* and (with Dussaud) *ḥnn*. In Grimme's interpretation other letters are identified, including H, P, R (loc. cit., 270 f.); other readings by Dussaud (*Syria*, 1930, 392) and by Gaster (loc. cit., pl. i), including G.

3. Tell el-Ḥesi potsherd; thirteenth century; giving BL' (Albright, *Arch. f. Orientf.*, 1929, 150).

4. Tell Duweir I (ewer); thirteenth century; giving probably *mtn šw*[ ]*t w'lt* (*PEF. Quart. Statem.*, 1934, 179).

5. Tell Duweir II (bowl); thirteenth century (*PEF. Quart. Statem.*, 1935, p. 202); giving *bšlšt* and probably K as first and third letters of what follows.

In the work of Olmstead and Sprengling the script of Ras Shamra was compared almost wholly with the Sinaitic of Serabit el-Khadim. Analogies with documents 1 and 2 were

[1] As to the prototypes of the other nineteen signs I find myself in agreement, broadly speaking, with Sprengling and Olmstead as regards Nos. 15, 25, 28 (Gaster leaves these unexplained), and with Gaster as regards Nos. 3, 6, 12, 16, 18, 23. Concerning the prototype of the remaining ten we agree to a great extent.

perhaps somewhat minimized: 4 and 5 were unknown; 2 had been little studied. To-day it is reasonable to begin by a comparison with the Canaanite documents which in place and (mostly) in time are nearer to those of Ras Shamra. The comparison has been made by Gaster in the case of certain letters (cf. *b*, *g*, *z*, *y*, *n*, ', *š* in his Table). Probably, however, as many as fourteen proto-Canaanite letters are known, or eighteen if *g*, *h*, *p*, *r* may be read on the Ain Shems ostrakon. It will be seen from the Table, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, that all these would provide types for the Ras Shamra signs having the same values, the latter being schematizations of the cursive by parallelism or alignment of wedges equivalent in number to the lines of the cursive or less by one, and by cuneification of original circles or loops into the oblique wedge (cf. statistics, p. 277).[1]

From four to eight letters of the traditional alphabet have probably not yet been found in early Canaanite: *d*, *ṭ*, *s*, *ṣ*; and perhaps *g*, *h*, *p*, *r*. These last, if not identified on the Ain Shems ostrakon, must be compared with Sinaitic (*g*, *r*) and Phœnician (*g*, *h*, *p*). The analogy between Ras Shamra *d* and *b* suggests for the prototype of *d* a sign like *b* with extensions; this is probably documented in Sinaitic. *s* is a sign intermediate between Sinaitic[2] and Phœnician. The correspondence of *ṭ* to the probable Sinaitic and to the Phœnician *ṭ* is evident. *ṣ* seems to approximate to the Phœnician form.

[1] In *m* the zigzag has been simplified into a single wedge. The formula applies to all the rest of the suggested eighteen equations if as is probable the *y* of six wedges was derived from a form a little younger than that of Gezer and the fuller forms of *n* and *r* from forms a little nearer to the Sinaitic than the *n* and *r* (?) of Ain Shems. Sinaitic forms in the Table are from Butin, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1932, 129: Phœnician from Ahiram, except *ṭ* (wanting there) from Abiba'l (No. 22) and the arrow of Rouisseh (No. 23). In Nos. 9, 16, and 5, *z*, *m*, and the doubtful *h* are given, rather differently from Grimm, as I see them in the published copy and photograph of the Ain Shems ostrakon.

[2] The second specimen of samek in the Table is Butin's unidentified sign xxiii from Sinai, No. 357, where it would make the proper name *sm*' (as in Sabæan).

So much of equations between Ras Shamra and the twenty-two letters of the traditional alphabet. There are also to be considered six Ras Shamra signs (Nos. 6, 7, 11, 20, 23, 27) representing values not specially provided for in the ordinary alphabet.

27a may well be, as Gaster notes, a differentiation from 26—or rather from its abbreviation, *26b*.

The following appear to have been derived from variants already existing in the non-cuneiform alphabet. No. *20a* ghain, is the sign 'ain with an additional stroke. This corresponds to one of the two forms of 'ain in Sinaitic: the eye with the pupil or other detail. It appears from the Ain Shems ostrakon that this variant survived in early Canaanite. No. 11 may be derived from an already existing duplicate to *ḥēth/ḫēth*. It would correspond to the Sinaitic letter which may be conjectured to have survived (like the Sinaitic 'ain) in early Canaanite. The oblique wedges represent, according to the usual convention, the loops of the original. Analogously No. 23, with its oblique wedge, would be derived from an archaic variant of original *ṣ/ṣ̌*, corresponding perfectly to the theoretical intermediary between the looped Sinaitic form and the earliest Phœnician (Rouisseh).

No. 6, the vowel *e*, is doubtless to be explained (with Gaster) as a derivative from Canaanite *he*; and No. 7 (originally another *e* ?) is obviously *he* in another position. Aleph being adopted for *a*, the specialization of variants of *he* for *e* was natural.[1]

For thirteen of the twenty-eight letters (*b*, *d*, *ḥ*, *y*, *w*, *m*, *n*, *s*, ', *gh*, *r*, *š/ś*, *ṡ*) there are duplicate forms, none of which (unless possibly No. *26b*) have phonetic significance.

No. *18b* is presumably an abbreviation of *18a*, the most elaborate sign in the Ras Shamra alphabet, and obsolescent

[1] The similar (or connected ?) adaptations of aleph and hē in Greek suggest that 'ain may have, as in Greek, been occasionally used for *o*; and, in fact, Bauer has recently noticed that there is a probable example of this use in *ṣp'n* = *ṣpn*, *ṣapōn*, *Syria*, 1934, p. 154 (*OLZ.*, 1935, 129 f.).

at the time of our documents.[1] No. 26*b* has all the appearance of an abbreviation from 26*a*. 27*b* [2] is abbreviated from 27*a*.

Bauer has remarked on the longer form of *n* and *r* which occur in some of the documents of 1929 (*Entzifferung der Keilschrifttafeln von Ras Schamra*, p. 11). *n* has four, instead of the usual three, aligned wedges always on Tab. 12, and sometimes on 3 and 9; in 9, 14 it has five wedges. The *n* with four wedges may be seen also in *Syria*, 1934, p. 148, 2 and 5; 1935, p. 184, Rev. 3. Evidently the variants are in accord with the Sinaitic derivation of the sign; the parts or sinuosities of the snake may be three, four, or five. The fuller form of *r*, No. 25*b*, occurs in *Syria*, 1929, 3, and 9; six or seven wedges instead of the usual five. The picture of a head, one of the most elaborate signs in the Sinaitic alphabet, might well be schematized in cuneiform of Ras Shamra by as many as seven wedges. There is also a variant *ḫ*, analogous to variant *n*, with four instead of the usual three wedges: *Syria*, 1929, No. 3, 1, and 1934, p. 148, 20. This is such a rendering as one might have expected: Canaanite *ḫ* had four lines and (as indicated below) Ras Shamra often reduces the number of lines by one, but rarely by more than one. For the variant *l* (15*a*, a better equivalent than 15*b* to the prototype) see *Syria*, 1932, 143; 1934, 230.

In No. 19*b*, the curious variant of 'ain found in one document (*Syria*, 1934, p. 149), the circle has already been explained by Virolleaud as a diacritical sign derived from the Canaanite alphabet.

The probably archaic variant *m*, No. 16*a* (*Syria*, 1934, p. 103; 1935, p. 186) gives a link between Canaanite *m* and the ordinary *m* of Ras Shamra. In Nos. 2*b*, 4*b*, the unusual forms of *b* and *d* (*Syria*, 1934, p. 103), the oblique wedges in the lower part of the signs may indicate rounded lines in the prototypes. A rounding of *b* appears already in Tell el-Ḥesi,

[1] For some of the rare examples see *Syria*, 1931, p. 194, n. 1; 1934, p. 79, 21, and 32; p. 245, 6, and 15.

[2] *Syria*, 1934, p. 149.

and an early rounding of *d* is probably to be postulated to account for the later triangular form. The probable variant of *w* in the same text confirms the assumption that the two aligned wedges of the stem of the usual sign represent a bend like that of the *w* of Tell Duweir I (*PEF. Quart. Statemo*, 1934, p. 179).

In the second form of ghain, No. 20*b* (*Syria*, 1934, p. 148), if not a mere corruption, one may see the elongated eye of Sinaitic type instead of the circular eye.[1]

Statistics.—The large, oblique wedge in the primary signs (except *š*) always represents a circle or loop in the prototype: Nos. 11, 12, 19, 20, 23, 24. In the majority of cases the number of wedges may be regarded as equal to the number of lines and loops in the prototype: Nos. 2, 4 (?), 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25. In most of the rest the number is reduced by one: Nos. 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 21, 26, 28. The number of wedges never exceeds the probable number of lines in the prototype.

Date.—Olmstead concluded that the Ras Shamra alphabet was nearer to that of Serabit than to any early Canaanite type (op. cit., 62); Gaster that it was an adaptation from a form of writing between his "Sinaitic II" (represented by Tell Duweir) and Phœnician.[2] Our results seem to indicate an intermediate position. Signs 1, 8, 10, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 27, and perhaps 2*a*, 4*a*, 5–7, suggest post-Sinaitic prototypes; signs 2, 4, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25 suggest prototypes well before that of formalized Phœnician. About 1500?

[1] In this case the duplication might well be derived from variants that already existed in the non-cuneiform writing; but all the other duplicates could be sufficiently explained by secondary developments within the cuneiform alphabet. If I am not mistaken the major mythological texts contain no duplicate forms except those for *š*/*ś* (and the occasional variant [illegible] [illegible] *Syria*, 1931, p. 197, n. 2; Bauer, *OLZ.*, 1935, 131; *Syria*, 1934, p. 306, 17; p. 330, 20. No. 26*a* corresponds both with *š* and *ś*, but No. 26*b* could always, so far as I have observed, be equated to *ś*. [The observation has already been made by H. L. Ginsberg, *JRAS.*, 1935, p. 45.]

[2] So p. 136. P. 140, "between S. III and Phœnician": misprint?

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A NEW (?) CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF AURANGZEB'S REIGN

Among the contemporary writers on Aurangzeb's reign, Muhammad Kāzim of 'Ālamgīr Nāma, Rai Bindrāban of Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh, Musta'id Khān of Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī, Īshar Dāss of Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī, Bhīm Sen of Nuskha-i-Dilkushā and Khāfī Khān of Muntakhib-Al-Lubāb occupy a very important place. But the place of honour among chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign has so far been occupied by Khāfī Khān's Muntakhib-al-Lubāb. He has been wearing a triple crown as a historian. His love of history and sacrifices he was prepared to make in its cause are—so it is said—proved by his facing the wrath of Aurangzeb rather than abandon his work. His impartiality is borne out by his occasional flings at Aurangzeb and his policy. His unique place among historians of Mughal India is assured by his compiling an account of the *entire reign* of Aurangzeb.

But a critical examination of his history of 'Ālamgīr's reign proves him to be one of the biggest imposters among historians. He nowhere mentions himself that he went on compiling an account of Aurangzeb's reign during the life-time of the emperor. He refers to the Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī of Musta'id Khān which was compiled after the death of Aurangzeb. He claims to have examined Rai Bindrāban's Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh which was not written earlier than 1694. He speaks of the 'Ālamgīr Nāma of Muhammad Kāzim which closes with the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign.[1] To have used Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī and find out its defects, Khāfī Khān's history could not have been written during Aurangzeb's times. In another place he gives an indication of the date of the composition. While describing the carrying off

[1] Khāfī Khān, ii, 212.

of Ajīt Singh, son of Mahārājā Jaswant Singh from Delhi, Khāfī Khān adds that Aurangzeb went on describing him as an imposter till he was married to a daughter of the Mahārānā of Udaipur.[1] Obviously this could not have been written before this marriage which could not have taken place earlier than the nineties of the seventeenth century. While narrating the account of Muhammad Murād Bakhsh, Khāfī Khān claims to describe the events as detailed to him by his father, who was a trusted servant of Murād Bakhsh, implying thereby that he himself had no personal knowledge of the events. Khāfī Khān began the writing of his book in the year A.H. 1030 (1717), as he himself seems to indicate in the introduction to the first volume,[2] and completed it in A.H. 1045 (1732), to which date he brings down his narrative in the second volume. Thus even according to our author the book was begun ten years after the death of Aurangzeb,[3] all the pains the author had to take concerned collecting materials from such sources as he could then command. He had, as we have already seen, certain general contemporary histories of Aurangzeb's reign to help him.

Though he has named some of these works, he has scrupulously avoided mentioning an author whose writings he used most. This is another historian of Aurangzeb, Abu'l Fazl Ma'mūrī. Khāfī Khān has purloined his history of Aurangzeb almost verbatim. Unfortunately, the only two extant copies of this work are found bound up with a history of the reign of Shah Jahan, Shāh Jahān Nāma of Sādiq Khān. One of these copies belonged to Sir H. M. Elliot.[4] Professor Dowson, who examined it, rightly came to the conclusion

[1] Khāfī Khān, ii, 200.
This addition is not to be found in Abu'l Fazl.
[2] Vol. i, p. 2.
[3] Even Professor Dowson's addition to Sir H. M. Elliot's note on Khāfī Khān (Elliot and Dowson, vol. vii, p. 209) [illegible] Khāfī Khān compiled an account of the [illegible] fe time, and kept it suppressed.
[4] Elliot and Dowson, vol. vii, p. 133.

that the account of the reign of Aurangzeb that it contained could not have been written by Sādiq Khān. He dismissed the matter there without probably examining the account itself in detail, as it seemed to him a copy of Khāfī Khān with only slight variations.[1] The other copy of this work is bound up with a modern MS. of Shāh Jahān Nāma of Sādiq Khān in the State Library, Rampur (India). In the course of my work on a Bibliography of the Mughal Period of Indian History, I examined this MS. last summer by the courtesy of the State authorities. An analysis of the work revealed the fact that though it seems to be a copy of Khāfī Khān, it claims an author of its own, Abu'l Fazl Ma'mūri.[2] The author's name is mentioned in several places, and we are also informed about the important places he filled in the reign of Aurangzeb. He is further mentioned in the 'Ālamgīr Nāma and the first volume of Khāfī Khān. From all these sources we learn that he accompanied Aurangzeb from Burhānpur when he started for the North for the purpose of disputing succession to Shah Jahan's empire.[3] He was first of all raised to the rank of a commander of 1,000, and after the battle of Dharmat he was promoted to the command of 1,500.[4] Early in Aurangzeb's reign he seems to have been appointed Darogha-i-Buyūtāt which office he occupied for thirty years till the thirty-sixth year of Aurangzeb's reign.[5] Towards the end of the year 25 he was appointed Waqa'-i-Nawīs of Burhānpur to hold it along with his old appointment as a Mīr-i-Sāmān.[6] In the year 1686 he was sent to the army commanded by Prince A'zam with some important instructions.[7] In the year 36 of Aurangzeb's reign, he was appointed Mīr-i-Bahr.[8] He seems to have either continued in the department of Buyūtāt or was again reverted thereto,

[1] Elliot and Dowson, vol. vii, p. 133.
[2] Rampur MS., p. 577.
[3] Khāfī Khān, vol. i, p. 747.
[4] 'Alamgīr Nāma, pp. 53, 77.
[5] Abu'l Fazl's history of the reign of Aurangzeb, Rampur MS., p. 653.
[6] Ibid., p. 548. [7] Ibid., p. 577. [8] Ibid., p. 653.

as we find him visiting the army besieging Panhāla with certain important papers in the year 44.[1] In the year 46 he was employed as a negotiator on behalf of the besieging Mughal commanders to settle the terms of surrender with Parśrāma, the commander of the fort of Khelna, which they were besieging.[2] He seems to have survived Aurangzeb.

The author mentions certain events which he himself witnessed. He was present in Delhi when the Hindus from the city and the neighbouring places gathered together for the purpose of holding a demonstration of protest against the imposition of the Jizya.[3] Earlier still he saw the musicians of Delhi carry the bier of music to the burial ground when Aurangzeb banished them from the court.[4]

An examination of this MS. proves that Khāfī Khān incorporated it almost word for word in his own history. Where he differs from its text, it is usually in suppressing the personal part played by Abu'l Fazl in various affairs. Not only is the prose narrative a copy of the account written by Abu'l Fazl, but the verses used by both to embellish their works are almost the same. There seems no reason to doubt that the original account of Aurangzeb's reign which Khāfī Khān subsequently made his own, was written by Abu'l Fazl. It covers pp. 378 to 733 of the Rampur MS. It closes with the death of Aurangzeb, short of the account of the burial which Khāfī Khān gives. The work really comes to an end with the verses found on p. 549 of Khāfī Khān, volume ii.

It may be suggested that our author may have copied Khāfī Khān's account of the reign. This is impossible. To have been able to use Khāfī Khān's history which was completed in 1732, our author must have lived at least more than 105 years. During the time of the war of succession he was raised to the command of 1,500. To have attained that rank, he must have been about 30 at least. Copies of Khāfī Khān's history could not have become common

[1] Ibid., p. 699. [2] Ibid., p. 707. [3] Ibid., p. 529. [4] Ibid., p. 491.

till some time after its completion in 1722. To have copied it then, and that too up to the account of Aurangzeb's death, suppressing the account of Aurangzeb's burial, would seem unreasonable, as well as unprofitable. It is more reasonable to suppose that just as Khāfī Khān used Sādiq Khān's Shāh Jahān Nāma for the reign of Shāh Jahān,[1] he may have used Abu'l Fazl's Annals of Aurangzeb's reign. A writer of a universal history of Mughal India up to his own times is more likely to use a work on a particular reign, than a writer on the reign of one emperor to lift it from a universal history. The internal evidence of the MS. makes it possible for Khāfī Khān to have used a work which might have been compiled by a contemporary. The additions he usually makes and alterations he effects fit in well with this suggestion. But for a contemporary of Aurangzeb to purloin Khāfī Khān's work and add to its account his own participation in certain events seems impossible and unlikely. The balance of plagiarism is turned against Khāfī Khān when we remember that his account of Shāh Jahān's reign is also indebted to another contemporary work. This seems to have been Khāfī Khān's usual method of writing history!

The fact that what we have long known as Khāfī Khān's account of Aurangzeb's reign turns out to be written by an important public servant of Aurangzeb's reign increases its value. It ceases to be the compilation of an historian who, with difficulty, ascertained the truth some years after the passage of those events. It becomes the work of a man who long participated in many important public events, and who as a newswriter and Darogha-i-Buyūtāt, had abundant opportunities of learning the true account of many important public events. It becomes an important document of Aurangzeb's reign precisely because it ceases to be Khāfī Khān's work.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

October, 1934.

[1] Elliot and Dowson, vii. p. 133.

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INTERPRETATION OF PSALM XLI

The right interpretation of Psalm xli depends upon the meaning of v. 2*a*: אשרי משכיל אל דל. It is generally assumed that these words mean: "Happy is he who considereth the poor," i.e. who takes care of the poor. The words that follow, i.e. from v. 2*b* till v. 4 (inclusive), are taken to refer to the משכיל אל דל and to describe the reward that will be given to the משכיל אל דל. What follows after v. 4 does not seem to fit in very well unless we say that the Psalmist speaks now (v. 5 ff.) as one who was a משכיל אל דל and complains that his fate is different from what it should be. But of this there is no mention in v. 5 ff. Some commentators say that the Psalmist is complaining (v. 5 ff.) that he is not visited by משכילים אל דל but by enemies. This is not mentioned either in v. 5 ff. Gunkel does not like משכיל אל דל and suggests מִסְכִּין־אֵל "der Vertraute Gottes" (*Die Psalmen*, p. 175; see also the translation on p. 172). He also quotes a suggestion by Gressmann: מַשְׂכִּיל־אֵל "der auf Gott achtet". All one can say about such suggestions is that they are incomprehensible.

It seems to me that the meaning of משכיל אל דל is quite different from what it is generally taken to be. I suggest that משכיל אל דל means "he who understands the poor", i.e. he who looks at the poor and sees what happens to him. He will then find that God protects and helps him. The results of his observations are described in v. 2*b* and vv. 3–4. The poor is the lowly, the weak, the righteous man who is pursued by the haughty, wicked men. He suffers, but in the end no harm comes to him.

The governing word in אשרי משכיל אל דל is משכיל. Does השכיל ever mean in the Bible "to take care of", or "to consider", "to pay attention to" in the sense of "to take care of"? As far as I can see השכיל never has that meaning. ולהשכיל אל דברי התורה (Nehemiah

viii, 13) means "and to understand the words of the Torah". Cf. also Proverbs xvi, 20, and xxi, 12. In Genesis iii, 6, להשכיל means "to look at". Cf. also Deuteronomy xxxii, 29; Isaiah xli, 20; Daniel ix, 13, 22. The general meaning of השכיל is "to understand", "to look at", "to look at and draw the conclusion". משכיל, therefore, means "he who understands", or "looks with understanding at".

"He who takes care of the poor," "he who deals well with the poor," would have been חונן דל, or דלים; cf. Prov. xix, 17; xxviii, 8. Cf. also Psalm lxxii, 13; lxxxii, 3, 4; cxiii, 7.

Instead of דל the Psalmist could have said just as well עני or אביון, see Psalm xl, 18; cf. also lxxii, 13; lxxxii, 3, 4; cxiii, 7. דל was probably chosen because of the alliteration: משכיל אל דל. One may assume that alliteration was the reason for choosing these three particular words.

Now we come to the word אשרי. אשרי is generally translated by "blessed". And "blessed" no doubt contributed to the current interpretation. One thought at once of Psalm i, where v. 3 describes the reward of the good man, and one applied the same idea to Psalm xli. But the only Psalm with אשרי that has a construction similar to that of Psalm i is Psalm cxii. In all other Psalms in which אשרי occurs—and אשרי occurs in the Book of Psalms twenty-five times—no reward follows upon אשרי. Cf., e.g., Psalm xxxii, 1, 2; xciv, 12; cxix, 1, 2; cf. also Job v, 17. אשרי has more the meaning of "It is good for one". A free translation of אשרי משכיל אל דל would be: "It is good for one to (observe and to) understand the (life of the) poor." One will then see that God protects him. And אשרי was also no doubt chosen because of the alliteration: אשרי משכיל. It is interesting to note that in the Psalms אשרי always occurs where there is assonance with the other words of the phrase. The same applies to nearly all other passages in the Bible where אשרי occurs.

The Psalmist says then what the observer of the poor sees. He sees: ביום רעה ימלטהו יהוה. Verse 2*b* contains the general idea of the protection of God. Cf. Psalm xxvii, 5. ימלטהו is not a prayer. It is a statement of fact. The same applies to vv. 3 and 4. In v. 3 the general idea is continued. In view of כונן אשורי in Psalm xl, 3, I am inclined to take ואשר as meaning "and he is firmly established" (see also Gunkel, p. 175). The change of person (3rd to 2nd, in v. 3*b* and v. 4*b*) occurs often in the Psalms. Cf., e.g., Psalm v, 7; xl, 18; cf. also Job v, 17.

A few remarks on v. 4. The words in v. 4*a* are chosen because of alliteration: יהוה יסעדנו על ערש דוי. Cf. Psalm xciv, 18*b*: חסדך יהוה יסעדני, and Proverbs xx, 28: וסעד בחסד כסאו. This alliteration supports, by the way, the traditional reading of יהוה as *Adonai*. We find יהוה in the Psalms mostly in verses with *d*- sounds. A good example is · כי מי אלוה מבלעדי יהוה, Psalm xviii, 32*a* (see also II Samuel xxii, 32*a*). Therefore also עבד יהוה = *Ebed Adonai*, Psalm xviii, 1. Cf. also כי אתה יהוה לבדך in Psalm iv, 9. Verse 4*b* is regarded as difficult. See the emendations in Duhm and Gunkel. The words as they are in the MT seem to me right and simple. כל has the same function as את. כל has been chosen because of alliteration. כל משכבו הפכת בחליו. These words mean: his couch (or bed) thou hast turned in his illness. כל need not be stressed. "To turn the bed" means "to make the bed". Verse 4 wants to say: God himself acts as his nurse.

אני אמרתי, in v. 5, *continues* the theme; cf. Psalm xl, 8, אז אמרתי. The Psalmist himself is a דל. He knows that God will help him. He prays to God in the assurance that deliverance will come. His enemies wish him ill. He knows that. But he is not afraid of them. Verses 6–7 contain ideas very similar to those in Psalm xxxv, 11–28. Cf. also Psalm xxxviii, 12–23, and Psalm cix, 2–5 and 20–31. What Mowinckel says (*Psalmen-Studien*, i, pp. 17–19) about Psalm xli falls away completely. The enemies did not cause

the illness. There is not a trace of magic in יתלחשו. Verse 8 has the same meaning as Psalm xxxv, 16, or Psalm cix, 2–3, 25. יתלחשו is chosen because of alliteration. The enemies hope that his disease is dangerous (v. 9*a*), and they curse him (v. 9*b*). Cf. Psalm cix, 28*a*. In losing this passage Mowinckel loses considerable support for his magic theory; see Mowinckel, loc. cit., p. 12. In v. 7 alliteration shows that לבו belongs to יקבין און לו. Verse 7 is a remarkable parallel to Psalm xxxv, 15 (see my interpretation of that verse in *The Expository Times*, May, 1932). Cf. also Psalm xxxviii, 21; lv, 13–14, 21–2. הגדיל עלי עקב gives very good sense; see Gesenius-Brown, s.v. עקב. The alliteration shows that the word עקב is genuine; הִגְדִּיל עָלַי עָקֵב. Verses 11–13 are simple. Cf. Psalm xxxv, 22–26; cix, 26–31. Verse 14 contains the Doxology. Cf. Psalm lxxii, 18, 19; lxxxix, 53; cvi, 48.

I submit that this interpretation explains Psalm xli satisfactorily.

296. SAMUEL DAICHES.

AN IMPORTANT MS. OF BUKHĀRĪ'S *ṢAḤĪḤ*

Among the Islamic Arabic MSS. of my collection is one, numbered "Mingana Arab. Isl. 225", which contains an important text of the second part of the famous collection of Islamic Traditions by Bukhāri. The *kitābs* which it contains are only the *Zakāt*, the *Ṣaum*, and the *Ḥajj*.

The MS. is unfortunately incomplete at the end, and so bears no date, but on palæographical grounds it cannot be later than A.D. 1000, and is probably earlier, and so may easily be ascribed to not more than about a hundred years after the author's death, which took place in A.D. 870. This is borne out also by the fact that the title-page contains inscriptions, one of which is dated Ramaḍān A.H. 464 (A.D. 1072), and the other Dhu'l Ḥijjah 574 (A.D. 1178).

The first inscription, which is evidently by an eminent Sheikh whose full name has been rendered illegible, is as follows[1] :--

. . . سمع مني هذا الجز من اوله الى اخره . . . ابو محمد عبد
الله بن عبد السلم بن شجاع وكتابه هذا ممسك له الى اخره
كتابي الذي سمعته على الشيخ ابي حفص عمر بن الحسن الهوزني
بقراة ولدي مروان في اصل نسختي وذلك بثغر الاسكندرية حماه
الله في شهر رمضان سنة اربع وستين واربعماية

The second inscription is :

قرا فيه . . . الفقير الى ربه حرمل بن جميل الحنفي بتاريخ ذي
الحجة سنة اربع وسبعين وخمسماية

The MS. probably contains the oldest text of Bukhāri in existence.

On the same title-page is also a long note containing a list of authorities bearing on the authenticity of the text of Bukhāri. The note, which is by a later hand, may be ascribed to about A.D. 1300–1350. At the end of this list a copyist, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Maṣ'ūbi, states that he compared the text of this MS. with a copy in the handwriting of Abu Waqt and with another copy in the handwriting of Abu Dharr, the variants of which he noted on the margins of the MS. Abu Waqt and Abu Dharr are, of course, two of the best transmitters of the text of Bukhāri.

The MS. has fairly broad margins, on which is found a comparative apparatus, by a still later hand, between the text of Bukhāri and that of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, and that of the well-known *Muwaṭṭa'* by Mālik b. Anas.

The importance of the MS. is further emphasized by marginal notes on ff. 31 and 36, dated 744 and 745 respectively, to

[1] I supply the diacritical points which are completely missing.

the effect that its text was read in Alexandria before the judge Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. 'Umar Bilbīsi.

A feature exhibited in the MS. is that no other names of Muslim saints or pious men, apart from that of the Prophet, are followed by the complimentary formulæ: "May God be pleased with him, or her," or "May God bless or save him, or her", etc.

A much more important feature is that every section begins with the sentence: "Bukhāri has informed us, saying" (اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا الخ), which would imply that it was not Bukhāri himself who wrote the text of his famous book, but one of his disciples. One is tempted to go farther, and to state in this connection that it was not an immediate disciple of Bukhāri who first committed it to writing, but a hearer of one of these immediate disciples. What renders this hypothesis almost certain is the fact that sometimes a chain of two authorities separates Bukhāri, the author, from the man who first put the book down in writing. So the first *bāb* of *Kitāb az-Zakāt* begins as follows: "We have been informed by Abu Zaid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who said that Muḥammad b. Yūsuf told us, saying that Bukhāri informed us saying: 'We have been told by Abu 'Āṣim Ḍaḥḥāk b. Mukhallad,' " etc.

اخبرنا ابو زيد محمد بن احمد قال حدثنا محمد بن يوسف قال اخبرنا
البخاري قال حدثنا ابو عاصم الضحاك بن مخلد الخ

To my knowledge no other MS. of Bukhāri shows this characteristic, which may throw much light on the transmission of the text of the most important Islamic book after the *Qur'ān*. It should, however, be remarked that some historical notes placed at the beginning of many MSS. of Bukhāri appear to suggest that the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was not always identical in all the ancient MSS.

The discrepancies which characterize the text of the present MS. as compared with that found in other MSS. and in the

printed texts show themselves also in the phraseology of the text, which sometimes exhibits considerable differences of wording. I will give below the text of one *bāb* of Bukhāri from the *Kitāb al-Ḥajj*, **as found in the authoritative and fully vowelled edition printed in Cairo in A.H. 1345, side by side with the corresponding** *bāb* as found in our **MS.** :—

Mingana Arab. Isl. 225 (fol. 45*a*) :—

باب من اين يخرج من مكة

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا مسدّد بن مسرهد قال حدثنا يحيى عن عبيد الله عن نافع عن ابن عمر ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل مكة من كَدا من الثنيّة العليا التي بالبطحا وخرج من الثنية السفلى. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا الحميدي ومحمد بن المثنى قالا حدثنا سفين بن عينة عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عايشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما جا الى مكة دخلها من اعلاها وخرج من اسفلها. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا احمد قال اخبرنا عمرو عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عايشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كدا من اعلا مكة قال هشام وكان عروة يدخل على كلتيهما من كدا وكُدى واكثر ما يدخل من كُدى وكانت اقربهما الى منزله. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا ابن عبد الوهاب قال حدثنا حاتم عن هشام ابن عروة دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كَدا من اعلا مكة وكان عروة اكثر ما يدخل من كدا وكان اقربهما الى منزله. هـ. قال محمد حدثنا يونس قال حدثنا وهيب قال حدثنا هشام عن ابيه دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كُدى وكان عروة يدخل منهما كليهما واكثر ما يدخل من كُدى اقربهما الى

منزله. ﻫ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا محمود قال حدثنا ابو اسامة قال حدثنا هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عايشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كُدى وخرج من كَدا من اعلا مكة. ﻫ.

Edit. Cairo, A.H. 1345 (vol. ii, p. 178).

باب من اين يخرج من مكة

حدثنا مسدد بن مسرهد البصري حدثنا يحيى عن عبيد الله عن نافع عن ابن عمر رضي الله عنهما ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل مكة من كَداء من الثنية العليا التي بالبطحاء ويخرج من الثنية السفلى. قال ابو عبد الله كان يقال هو مسدد كاسمه قال ابو عبد الله سمعت يحيى بن معين يقول سمعت يحيى بن سعيد يقول لو ان مسددا اتيته في بيته فحدثته لاستحق ذلك وما ابالي كتبي كانت عندي اوعند مسدد. حدثنا الحميدي ومحمد بن المثنى قال حدثنا سفيان بن عيينة عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما جاء الى مكة دخل من اعلاها وخرج من اسفلها. حدثنا محمود بن غيلان المروزي حدثنا ابو اسامة حدثنا هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كَداء وخرج من كُداً من اعلى مكة. حدثنا احمد حدثنا ابن وهب اخبرنا عمرو عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كَداء اعلى مكة. قال هشام وكان عروة يدخل على كلتيهما من كَداء وكُدا واكثر ما يدخل من كَدا وكانت اقربهما الى منزله. حدثنا عبد الله بن عبد الوهاب حدثنا حاتم عن هشام عن عروة دخل

النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كَداء من اعلى مكة وكان
عروة اكثر ما يدخل من كَدا وكان اقربها الى منزله. حدثنا موسى
حدثنا وهيب حدثنا هشام عن ابيه دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
عام الفتح من كَداء وكان عروة يدخل منها كليهما واكثر ما يدخل
من كَداء اقربها الى منزله. قال ابو عبد الله كَداء وكُداً موضعان.

Another and equally important feature exhibited in the text of the MS. is that the *kitābs* are not in the same order as that found in other MSS. and in the printed texts. So in our MS. the whole of the book of *Ṣaum* (fol. 26*b*) precedes that of *Ḥajj* (fol. 45*a*), and an early copyist states on fol. 26*b* that the MS. in the handwriting of Abu Waqt, with which he compared the present one, had the *Kitāb al-Ḥajj* immediately after the *Kitāb az-Zakāt* and before the *Kitāb as-Ṣaum*.

The above lines show without any doubt that the text of Bukhāri underwent many vicissitudes before it reached its present standardized form. It is not my intention to enter into details and to elucidate the discrepancies between the old text of Bukhāri, as exhibited in the MS. under consideration,[1] and that contained in the more modern MSS. and in the printed texts, nor to explain how and when that text was finally fixed. I only draw attention to the above facts, and leave the task of accounting for them to others.

A. MINGANA.

[1] A complete set of facsimile reproductions of all the folios of the MS. will soon be published in book form.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

VISVA BHARATI QUARTERLY, May–July, 1935.

We offer a welcome to this the first number of a new series. The quarterly, true to its traditions, devotes itself to art and literature with breadth of mind and general fairness of outlook. This number contains in its 132 pages twenty articles and twelve illustrations. One of the illustrations is an autographed poem in facsimile by Rabindranath Tagore, the revered founder of the magazine.

There are reviews of five books; the most important review is that of the "Rise and Fulfilment of British Power in India", by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garrett. This review should be compared with Professor Dodwell's in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. viii, part i, p. 264.

We may hope that the future of this quarterly in its new series will be even more prosperous than its past and that it will continue to promote successfully the disinterested pursuit of knowledge and the creation or contemplation of beauty.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE ASSYRIAN LAWS. By G. R. DRIVER, M.A., and JOHN C. MILES, KT., M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935. 35*s*. net.

It is hardly necessary now to describe the material of which this book should be, for many years to come, the definitive edition, for the tablets and fragments inscribed with laws, discovered in the excavations at Ashur, and first published in 1920, have taken their place in the interest of all students of antiquity as second in importance only to the Code of Hammurabi, revealed some twenty years earlier, and this inferiority is due only to the accident that the code, being mostly preserved, covers a much wider variety of topics than

the Assyrian laws, of which only two considerable extracts and a few small fragments have as yet been found.

The plan of this edition, as indicated by the names and qualifications of the authors, is to give a full transcription and translation of all the laws in the light of the most recent philological knowledge, and, based upon this, an interpretation of their meaning as disclosed by a critical study of the text, illustrated by the comparison of ancient, classical, and even modern legislation. To these principal sections, the latter of which rather surprisingly precedes the former in the order of the book, are added a bibliography, a glossary of Assyrian words, and an index of subjects and terms, all of them invaluable aids to finding what is wanted among a great wealth of discussions.

A translator of the Assyrian laws to-day finds his principal task in criticism, for the bibliography reveals that he has by now nearly half a score of predecessors whose labours, differing indeed in scope and originality, have at any rate yielded nearly all the possible interpretations of the text, about which, in its broader lines, there is in fact little room for disagreement, for the number of words of really doubtful meaning is quite small, as the glossary shows, and would be little increased even by the inclusion of a few others which are not perhaps as certain as generally believed. Consequently Mr. Driver's notes are much occupied in exhibiting his reasons for choice between slightly divergent renderings already published, a process in which it is gratifying to see how often he is led to prefer the earliest version of all, that of Father Scheil, already illustrious for his *editio princeps* of Hammurabi's Code. The choice is very properly based upon consideration of what makes the best sense as law, but Mr. Driver is generally capable of showing that what is good sense is good philology, a concord grounded indeed in nature, but not always achieved in the study. In his transliteration a careful variety of type indicates the degree of certainty with which signs can be read, and the extent of restorations. Exactitude possibly

demands that the "ideograms" shall be printed in capitals, but as these do not transcend the common usage of the writing, it may be thought that such apparent oddities as *ša-a ŠÀ*^{bi}*-ša* or *LÚ lu DUMU LÚ ù lu DUMU. SAL LÚ* are scarcely justified by this punctilio. In one instance (*Old Assyr. Law*, Tablet II, Rev. 1) the capitals *KÙ-AZAG* are not justified in themselves, for the text reads *kù-ki*, which surely denotes a phonetic reading of the ordinary "ideogram" for gold. On p. xxiv of the preliminary matter, in the note to p. 503 is found a strange translation of a passage involving the verb *zamaḫu*. How this is obtained appears from a note on p. 501, § 8, but it is more natural to translate "he incorporated it with the 6 homers of his land". It seems a dubious advantage to render consistently the indefinite third person plural as a passive. It is done intentionally, and a full discussion of this usage is to be found on p. 352 ff., but the discussion itself brings out the possible implications of this formula, and it seems a pity to obscure it by a non-literal translation. Finally, why is *ḫubšu* specifically a "sapper"? The passages quoted all seem to indicate merely a common soldier.

Of the Legal Commentary, mainly due to Sir John Miles, which occupies the greater part of the book it is hard to write in a review, for any consideration of any of the numerous questions which he discusses would require the same kind of patient and acute argumentation which he uses so lucidly, and for this there is not space here; nor indeed could I venture to claim any competence to follow him upon his own ground. Since, however, the genesis of his interest in these documents seems to have been a desire to re-examine the theory of Koschaker that they are not laws, but the compilation of a jurist, and contain many additions and explanations, one may be allowed the opinion that his criticism of this theory is effective, not only for the reasons which he gives, but from consideration both of the improbability of the theory in itself, and of the practice in other branches of Babylonian literature, where scribes were accustomed to make *ad hoc* excerpts for purposes

which were plain to them, but cannot be expected always to be intelligible to us. Thus if Tablet A is concerned to set forth "the laws which affect women and chiefly married women" we are free to speculate upon the motive of this proceeding, but not to be perplexed at such a thing having been done at all, nor to doubt for this reason the integrity or character of the excerpts themselves.

Marriage customs are the subject of a long and acute examination, generally critical of the opinions chiefly sponsored by Koschaker. In regard to one question, whether there were two forms of marriage in which the wife lived in her husband's or her father's house respectively, there might seem room for doubt whether this conception is successfully replaced by the theory of "inchoate" marriage in the latter case. Sir John Miles perhaps makes too light of the argument that such a wife may have children; it might be added from §38 that she can be divorced, a point which he does not apply to the general question when he discusses this paragraph (p. 192). As concerns the *terḫatu*, however, he very effectively discredits the idea that this should be regarded as *pretium pudicitiae*. A hint of the purpose for which the *terḫatu* was held to be accepted may possibly be found in a tablet from Arrapḫa (*R.A.*, xxiii, p. 119, no. 42). It appears elsewhere that 40 *SU* was the conventional amount of this sum, but in this document only 10 are accepted by the girl's father, who gives the remaining 30 to the bride herself "because Eiši (another woman) has brought her up". Whatever may have been the father's arrangement with Eiši, it might appear from this that the *terḫatu* was considered mainly as payment for the expense of rearing a daughter and thus ultimately providing a wife for the son-in-law ("female children are a burden of small joy in a poor Moslem family; for whom the father shall at last receive but a slender bride-money, when they are divided from his household").

A subject respecting which some difficulty may be felt in sharing the author's opinion is that of the alleged social

classes, which are regarded by him as respectively the *mār awīli*, the "Assyrian", and the slave. In contrast with Hammurabi's Code it must be granted that these distinctions, if they existed in this form, are alluded to with an obscurity very inappropriate to so essential an element in the polity. Further, there is certainly at first sight much objection to allowing that one called "an Assyrian" could be a person of inferior status, since his designation would naturally be deemed analogous to that of the *civis Romanus*, and such a status would be conceivable only under foreign rule, which certainly did not prevail in Assyria at that time. In the two principal laws which are discussed in this connection (see p. 284 ff.) it would, I think, be possible to see a confirmation of the natural idea that the Assyrian is, in fact, of the fully-privileged class. In A, § 44, the "Assyrian" has been kept hitherto as a pledge, but, in the case envisaged, he "has been taken", that is, he has become the full property of the creditor, who has failed to obtain repayment of his loan. The creditor may then inflict upon him indignities from which an "Assyrian" in his free condition is understood to be exempt. In C, § 3, the text is uncertain, but, accepting the proposed restoration, the position seems to be just the same. A free man under pledge for debt cannot be sold abroad, but if an "Assyrian" has been "taken" in default of repayment, even he, a *civis*, can be sold into foreign slavery.

A 546. C. J. GADD.

ELEMENTS OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. 12 × 8½, pp. iv + 95, pls. 15, figs. 9. Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press. London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1935. 15*s*.

The unpretentious title of this work hardly suffices to indicate its wide scope. It deals not so much with iconography itself as with a certain interpretation of four Buddhist symbols, the Tree, the Thunderbolt, the Lotus, and the Wheel,

and it is further admitted that there is nothing specifically Buddhist about them. "If any particular stress seems to be laid on Buddhism, this is strictly speaking an accident." The symbols are of Vedic origin. Does this mean that they have the same meaning for Buddhism? It does, for "every traditional symbol necessarily carries with it its original values", and Buddha is an incarnation of the Vedic Agni. If he appears as a man it is because he has become humanized, and the other symbols typify the ultimate conceptions of ontology and metaphysics.

The Tree is the Tree of Life, the World Tree, and it comes to represent the Buddha. He is shown as a fiery pillar, and as such is the survival of a purely Vedic formula in which Agni is represented as the Axis of the Universe, extending as a pillar between Earth and Heaven. The World Tree is also the procession of incessant life, an exteriorization of the Will to Life, and has to be cut down. Here appears a contradiction, but it is easily solved. "The conflict is precisely between those principles which are represented by Māra and Buddha; who, however, opposite in nature are one in essence, and therefore at one beyond experience where 'all principles are same'."

The *triśūla* in Buddhism is commonly understood to denote the jewel-trinity. Senart regarded it as a fire-symbol, but this would not conflict with its Śaiva association, for when doubled, as the author shows, it forms a vajra, the weapon with which Indra slew Vṛtra. Here it is not easy to follow the steps of the argument, but we learn that in the Buddha legend the Vedic aspect of Ahi-Vṛtra is represented (1) in the Māra-dharṣaṇa and (2) in the Buddha's defeat of the serpent on the occasion of the jaṭilas.

The symbolism of the Lotus is complicated, but we find that in the actual iconography it represents the ground or substance of existence, both that whereon and that wherein existence is established firmly amid the sea of possibility. In its earliest form it is most conspicuously connected with

Śrī-Lakṣmī, who is essentially Aditi, Prakṛti, Māyā, Apsaras, Urvaśī, the Waters, all the possibilities of existence substantially and maternally personified. In the Buddhist lotus Foucher would see Buddha nativities represented. But the author will only admit that they are "virtually Buddha nativities, inasmuch as they represent Her who is the Mother of all Existence, and so pre-eminently the Buddha, when he is considered not as the man Siddhārtha, but as Universal Man".

But Buddha appears not only as a form of Agni and as the World Tree. The Buddhas are represented also as Word-wheel and World-wheel or Wheel of the Law or Norm. Primarily the Wheel is the Revolution of the Year. In the sense that Time is the Sun it represents the Sun, but more exactly the movement of the Sun. However, the content of the wheel symbolism is extraordinarily rich. It is not only the Dharmacakra, the wheel of the Cakravartin, and the chariot of the Sun, but analogically the indefinite totality of all possible conditions, the entire *saṃsāra*.

The second part discusses the place of the Lotus-throne. This is evidently (in spite of Mount Meru) at the hub of the wheel, the navel of the world, and finally Buddha is the Axis of the Universe, "who surely takes the forms imagined by his worshippers, for all convenient means are at his command. He, Tathāgata, Agni Vaiśvānara, Brahmā-Prajāpati, Christ, or idea of Muḥammad, is one and the same, his throne is single."

The comparative mythologists have dealt with the Buddha legend before, but they are probably all dead by now. There is thus reason for a more comprehensive and quite independent theory. It comes into a field, however, already occupied by very different theories, and what the linguists, the religionists, and the historians will make of it remains to be seen. The whole work and the numerous plates are most beautifully produced. The plates alone are enough to set the iconographists problems that have never before been pointed out.

A 481. E. J. THOMAS.

EXÉGÈSE MIDRASIQUE DES PROPHÉTIES MESSIANIQUES. By JEAN JOSEPH BRIERRE. 13 × 10, pp. 217. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1935. 80 fr.

The first part of this compilation gives a brief account of the Midrashic works from which the extracts are taken, and summarizes the Messianic doctrines contained therein. The Hebrew passages which follow are accompanied by a translation into French, with footnotes on the sources and parallel passages in other Rabbinic literature. The indices are very full and drawn up with care. The author might profitably have extended his researches beyond the Pentateuch in the Pesiḳta Zuṭrata, and beyond the Book of Genesis in the Midraš Haggadol (see, however, his remark on p. 29). The work of English scholars receives no attention; and reference might well have been made to Friedlander's translation of Pirke R. Eli'ezer, Levertoff's of Sifré, and to those portions of the Yalkut Šim'oni which have already appeared in English. The student may cover these omissions by referring to the lists, brought up to date, in the recent editions of the works of Strack and Mielziner on Talmudic and Midrashic literature. Our author's work is one of a series and further studies on Messianic interpretations in the Targums, Apocrypha, and Kabbala are announced.

A. 477 — A. W. GREENUP.

REALLEXIKON DER ASSYRIOLOGIE. Vol. II, Parts 1–3. Edited by E. EBELING and B. MEISSNER. 10¼ × 7, pp. 1–240. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter and Co., 1933–5. 20 Mks.

The rapidly increasing number of books and articles on Assyriology makes the appearance of every new part of this encyclopædia very welcome to the busy scholar. Considering the paramount importance of the work it seems a pity that

its publication could not be speeded up, perhaps by enlisting the services of a larger number of contributors. The first part was published in 1928, and other eight parts have since appeared at the rate of one a year.

The articles in the second volume, which is still incomplete, cover items *Ber-* to *Dun-* and include geographical notices of more than 200 place-names compounded with *Bît-*. Among the longer articles are *Berossos*, *Bett*, *Bier u. Bierbereitung*, *Briefe*, *Chemie*, *China u. Babylonien*, *Dagan*, *Dämonen*, *Daniel*, *Dârejawôš* (= Darius), *Darlehen*, *Diadem u. Krone*, *Diebstahl*, *Dienstvertrag*, *Dilbat*, and *Drachen u. Drachenkampf*. The longest and one of the most valuable is Ungnad's on *Datenlisten*. The work is not merely a compilation of existing material, but many articles, such as Ebeling's on *Dämonen*, contain valuable original discussions. The documentation is full, with excellent bibliographies of the more recent literature. It is perhaps worth pointing out that on pp. 107 and 113 the title of Thompson's book, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, is incorrectly given; on p. 114*b* "Ninive Gallery" should be "Nineveh Gallery"; on p. 104*b* "*Prims*" is a misprint for "*Prisms*". Citations of books are not always uniform, e.g. Bez *Catal.* (p. 36*a*) but "Bezold *Cat.*" (p. 38*a*) and "Bezold *Cat. Kuy. Coll.*" (p. 200*b*). It is to be hoped that an up-to-date list of abbreviations will be furnished to the public from time to time and will be scrupulously used by contributors. The *Reallexikon* is an invaluable reference-work for libraries and should be in the hands of every serious student of the Near East.

792. A 270. CECIL J. MULLO WEIR.

Chronique du Règne de Ménélik II, Roi des Rois d'Éthiopie. Par Guebre Sellasié. Traduite de l'amharique par Tefa Sellasié. Publiée et annotée par Maurice de Coppet. Tome II. 11 × 7½, pp. viii + 389–796, pls. 31, figs. 43, photos 1. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1931.

An account of the first part of this work was given in the Journal for 1932, p. 415. The death of M. de Coppet took place in September, 1930, the year of the publication of the first part, and a brief memoir of him is prefixed to the final volume by the well-known statesman and Orientalist, M. Gabriel Ferrand. From this it appears that M. de Coppet was a most energetic and able diplomatist and, besides, a linguist of extraordinary attainments, which indeed might be inferred from his commentary on this chronicle. There is one sentence in this memoir which may be quoted as calculated to justify scepticism about the value of internal evidence :—

Fils de pasteur, foncièrement protestant lui-même, il introduit les Lazaristes dans la capitale de l'Abyssinie.

The Lazarist Coulbeaux, in his *History of Abyssinia* (1929), speaks with great bitterness about Protestants ; one would not have suspected that his Society had received so great a favour from one.

De Coppet's concluding volume displays the same thoroughness as the previous one. The narrative is of great interest as it records the victory of the Abyssinians over the Italians at Adoua, Menelik's various reforms, buildings, dealings with rebels, appointments of governors. The volume starts with the organization of the Abyssinian army, and the translation ends with Menelik's proclamation of a successor, when his health no longer permitted him to direct affairs. In one of the Appendixes de Coppet continues the history from 1909 to 1916, and, as might be expected, the French writer's sober and business-like style furnishes a far clearer view of the course of events than the official chronicle of the Abyssinian priest.

Menelik's choice of a successor proved unfortunate, as the lad whom he had proclaimed, when old enough to dispense with a regency, showed signs of embracing Islam and making that the official religion, procedure which resulted in his dethronement.

There are several other appendixes on the coinage, chronology, antiquities, and ecclesiastical institutions of Abyssinia, an ample bibliography, and an elaborate index (this last the work of Mdlle Colette Renié). Students of Abyssinian history will find this work indispensable.

669. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

HINDU MYSTICISM ACCORDING TO THE UPANIṢADS. By MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$. pp. viii + 344. London: Kegan Paul, 1934. 15*s*. net.

The author of this book, who holds a chair of philosophy in Calcutta University, is well known for his studies in Hindu Mysticism. The Upaniṣads, as he tells us, are a perennial source of philosophical wisdom and mystical inspiration, but to Vedantic teachers truth is rather to be received than thought about. Therefore, the Upaniṣads do not present any logical system, but rather a series of intuitions and revelations which result in inspiration, and this Divine inspiration, they teach, is possible everywhere and to every soul. It is the cosmic spirit (*Puruṣa*), which is the source of inspiration from without and within. The path of spiritual emancipation to which the Upaniṣads point leads to final release: in "life's silence" the soul finds its identity with the transcendent, by which alone it can be set free. This is the goal of all mysticism, which teaches the unity of existence, and aims at the realization by the human soul of its identity with the Divine.

The author shows how the Upaniṣads teach of Reality as Absolute and as manifest, Brahman-in-itself and Brahman-

in-relation. Both Islamic and Christian mysticism have taught the same. "When the Essence is independent of us all," said Ibn al-'Arabī, "it is named Absolute Oneness and when It manifests Itself in attributes and names, It becomes Oneness in multiplicity." "God works," said the Christian Eckhart, "so doth not the Godhead." The Absolute can be described only by negatives, *Neti, Neti,* because Brahman-in-itself is beyond relation, inconceivable, and ineffable, and, therefore, beyond the reach of human thought and language. But the Real permeates all things, it is both transcendent and imminent—there is a metaphysical system of existence, and also a psychical and concrete system; the mystic with his bodily senses regards the phenomenal world, but pierces through its veils to the Reality underlying them. "Brahman is your soul," said Yājnavalkya, "and it is in all things." The individual self is one with the Universal Self, *Ātman* is identical with Brahman. The Upaniṣadic mysticism, therefore, finds no distinction between the Cosmic Being without, and the vivifying Self within, and the only real freedom is the consciousness of this identity with the Absolute. "Spirituality lies in the cognition of the Truth."

The realization of an original identity with the original Reality comes gradually, as the result of mystical intuition, to the mystic living a life of illuminated understanding and enlightened adaptation, an understanding which grows and cannot be satisfied until it finds rest in the Truth, and so Brahman is realized under various aspects, as Sustainer, as Creative Will, as Gnosis, as the Word, but underlying all is the Truth, made known to the soul which sets itself free from realistic instincts and habits, and this means the rejection of the path of darkness, the gratification of the natural man, and the choice of the path of light, which leads to wisdom and freedom, freedom from all that is unreal, including the illusion of time. "When the heart becomes free from all clinging to desires, then the mortal becomes immortal and attains

Brahman. When the heart-knots are all sundered, then the man attains immortality." [1]

The author devotes a chapter to the symbolism employed in the Upaniṣad texts and shows how natural forces are used as symbols to inspire an animated vision of nature, but this gives place to the idealistic vision of nature, and at this point symbolism gives way to spiritual perfection. The symbol *Om* has a deeper significance, representing the cosmic harmony itself, that spiritual rhythm transforming all things, which leads to discrimination between the material and the spiritual and to the gradual spiritualization of the mind and senses, and this symbol is the path and the end alike, "Meditate upon *Om* as *Ātman*."

As he approaches the ultimate aim of the quest, the author deals with the paths of contemplation and silence, and the four stages of life, of which the contemplative life is the third, and realization the fourth and last. He who has reached the last is the wise man, the emancipated, who attains to *Moksa*, release, when "the fulness of life dawns suddenly upon the receptive soul. It can come to that one alone who has the proper attitude and this attitude is nothing but a silent watch of the soul. . . . This watchful silence makes it responsive to the currents of life, revealing its Divine orientation. . . . The seeker is reborn" (p. 322). In the last stage spirituality dispenses with all relativities of ethics, knowledge, and experience, and gives that transcendent freedom which is the silence permanently residing in the heart of being. *Moksa*, then, is the state of being which is beyond all real or ideal creative projections; it is release from the sense of relativity in all its forms, ethical, spiritual, or creative; it is the attainment of Truth, in its unicity, the identification of the Self with the Absolute Reality.

[1] Cf. the Ṣūfī mystic Junayd, "Perishability is ended and subsistence is made perfect. Weariness and care cease, the elements perish, and there remains what will not cease, as time that is timeless ceases not." This is the "eternal present" of the Upaniṣads, the perfect freedom of attainment.

This is a thought-provoking book, and will be found of great interest and value to all students of mysticism and of Hindu literature. The nature of the subject involves a style which does not make for easy reading, but it will repay careful study, and Professor Mahendranath Sircar has laid all who are interested in Hindu philosophy, whether in the East or in the West, under a deep obligation to him for this scholarly book. It is well produced and very fully indexed.

A. 269. MARGARET SMITH.

HEFT PEIKER. Ein romantisches Epos des Niẓāmī Genǧe'ī. Edited by H. RITTER and J. RYPKA. Monografie Archivu Orientalnino, Vol. III. Ceskoslovensky Ustav Orientalnino v Praze. 10 × 7, pp. xi + 303 + 43. Prague, 1934.

FERHĀD UND SCHĪRĪN. Die literaische Geschichte eines Pepischen Sagenstoffes. By HERBERT W. DUDA. Monografie Archivu Orientalnino, Vol. II. Ceskoslovensky Ustav Orientalni v Praze. 10 × 7, pp. viii + 215. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1923. Kc. 120.

The series of publications issued from the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague, under the editorship of Professor Rypka, is rendering a valuable service to students of Persian literature who know only too well how greatly they are hampered by the want of trustworthy texts. Besides the volumes already published, a critical edition of the *Ẓafarnáma* of Niẓámu'ḍdin Shámí, with a commentary by Professor Felix Tauer, is in the press. The series has made an admirable start; we may hope that subsequent volumes will maintain the high standard set by those which are the subject of the present notice.

In Persian romance the *Khamsa* occupies the position of the *Sháhnáma* in epic and the *Mathnawí* in mysticism; and among the five poems contained in it the *Haft Paykar*, which has been translated into English by Dr. C. E. Wilson, is

generally considered to be the masterpiece. This edition provides—what cannot be found in the Oriental lithographs—a carefully established text that does justice to the delicacy and fineness of the poet's art. How far it reproduces the original may be questioned, but the same doubt exists in connection with many classics of Persian poetry which have been freely handled by irresponsible and ingenious copyists. It is seldom easy and frequently impossible to distinguish these "improvements" from the genuine readings, unless MS. evidence be decisive, which in most cases it is not. The oldest surviving MSS. of the *Khamsa*, written 160–200 years after the death of the poet, vary to such an extent that the editors, having divided the best of them into two groups, were probably justified in admitting the principle of æsthetic selection as a means of restoring the text. In a previous study of Niẓámí's style and diction Dr. Ritter showed how well able he is to appreciate the subtle points which critics using this method have to weigh. For the chief part, of course, the results fall short of certainty, but they are very interesting and instructive, and fully repay the labour spent in obtaining them. Since all variants worth considering are recorded, the reader can form his own judgment as to the merit of the preferred in comparison with the rejected alternatives. Personally I find little occasion to disagree with the editors, who have done their work in an exemplary manner. The printing also is excellent.

The story of Khusraw Parwíz and his favourite wife as told by Niẓámí and other poets always includes the tragic episode of Farhád and Shírín, which often in later times was detached from its environment and became an independent theme. That the march of events in modern Persia has not destroyed its popularity is curiously shown by its dramatization in the form of a film-libretto (*Sháh-i Irán u Bánú-yi Arman*, by Dhabíḥ Bihrúz, formerly Lecturer in Persian at Cambridge). In the work under notice Dr. Herbert Duda has made an exhaustive study of the history and

literary development of the legend. His monograph is a mine of information on a fascinating subject, but here I can only summarize the contents very briefly: early references to Farhád, etc. (pp. 3–12); abstract of Niẓámí's *Khusraw u Shírín* (pp. 13–34, 65–76); German translation of the passage concerning Farhád (pp. 35–65); treatment of the theme by Niẓámí and his successors, Khusraw of Delhi, 'Árifí, 'Imádu'ddín Faqíh, Sultan Ḥusayn Bayqará, Hátifí, Hilálí, Waḥshí, 'Urfí of Shíráz, and others (pp. 77–120); the above-mentioned "film" by Bihrúz (pp. 121–6); Persian text of the Farhád episode in Niẓámí, 607 verses, with an account of the MSS. on which the text is founded (pp. 131–179); description of 107 manuscripts of Stambul and its vicinity containing versions of "Farhád and Shírín" by various poets (pp. 180–213).

A 380, A.91. R. A. NICHOLSON.

INDIA'S SOCIAL HERITAGE. By L. S. S. O'MALLEY. 7½ × 5, pp. 194. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. 5*s*.

In the first four chapters of this book the author gives a very clear idea of the effects of caste and tribal customs and restrictions on the life of the Indian people. He then explains the village community, the family, marriage customs and the purdah system, and adds a very valuable summary of recent social changes. The handling of an enormous mass of material is skilful and lucid, and the book will be useful to many classes of reader, the anthropologist, the official, the missionary, and anybody who wishes to realize the social conditions in which the ordinary Indian lives.

A. 220. R. BURN.

KARAKAṂḌACARIU OF MUNI KANAKĀMARA. Edited by HIRALAL JAIN. Karanja Jaina Series, Vol. IV. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 50 + 284, ills. 12. Karanja: Jaina Publication Society, 1934.

In editing this Apabhraṁśa life of the Pratyekabuddha Karakaṇḍa, Professor Hiralal Jain again lays students of Apabhraṁśa and of Jainism under a debt of gratitude for his activity. There is an introduction in Hindi followed by a short one in English, an English summary of the poem, the text itself with critical apparatus based on five MSS., an English translation, and—most excellent feature of nearly all Hiralal Jain's work—a complete index of all words with Sanskrit equivalents and references to the text.

A. 334. R. L. TURNER.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA'S DAFTAR. Ed. by G. S. SARDESAI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. Poona: Government Central Press.

No. 42. Papers referring to Pratap Sinh, Raja of Satara. pp. 3 + 114 + v. 1934. Rs. 1 annas 12, or 3*s*.

No. 43. Social and Religious Life under the Peshwas. pp. 2 + 135 + iv. 1934. Rs. 2 annas 2, or 4*s*.

No. 44. Some Historical Families. pp. 2 + 83 + iv. 1934. Rs. 1 annas 7, or 2*s*. 6*d*.

No. 45. Documents illustrating Maratha Administration. pp. 1 + 157 + v. 1934. Rs. 2 annas 7, or 4*s*. 6*d*.

The first of these volumes adds much to our knowledge of a somewhat unfortunate ruler. Starting with the full support of the British Government, which re-established his kingdom, with Mountstuart Elphinstone and Grant-Duff, the future historian and his first Resident, as his advisers and firm friends, he ended his career in deposition and exile. To some degree this was due to the hostility of the Brahmans, who bitterly opposed his claim to be a Kshatriya and thus entitled to

Vedic rites : a matter which is still a matter of dispute between the Deccani Brahmans and the great Maratha families. The letters, however, afford evidence of Pratapsinhji's haughty and intractable temper. He regarded the families of the Gaekwad and of Sindhia, rulers of territories wider than his own, as upstarts, and excommunicated one of his Sardars for allowing a marriage connection with the former. No evidence appears in these letters of his alleged intrigues with the Portuguese, but there is plenty to show his interest in matters in other parts of India, and the impression is strengthened that there were good grounds for his deposition. The letters throw a pleasing light on the character of Grant-Duff.

The forty-third portion contains much of interest regarding the religious and social aspects of the Peshwa's Government, especially as indicating that they proposed to exercise spiritual as well as temporal sovereignty over India, and in particular to restore Hindu orthodox practices which had been suppressed or had been dormant under Moslem domination. The judicial papers convey many of the decisions, though not the reasoned judgments, of the great jurist, Ram Shastri.

No. 44 contains genealogies which should prove useful for the details of Maratha history—and also includes many family stories of ancestral heroism which are at least picturesque.

No. 45 contains miscellaneous items relating to the general administration, and thus forms a suitable conclusion to a series which should prove invaluable to future students of Maratha history, and more especially to anyone who seeks to supplement the History of Grant-Duff, which has never been superseded. A word of thanks is due to the Government of Bombay for carrying through the publication of the series in a time of great financial difficulty.

A 306, 307, 309, 310. P. R. CADELL.

Caucasica. Edited by Gerhard Deeters. Fasc. 11. 9¾ × 6½. pp. 138. Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major, 1934.

This eleventh number of the periodical founded by Adolf Dirr maintains the high standard to which the earlier issues had accustomed readers. The four subjects dealt with are:—

(1) pp. 1–39. Prince N. Trubetzkoy's notes on a stay among the Circassians in the Tuapse district in 1910, as a young guest of Vsevolod Miller. The sections deal with language, relics of paganism, songs, prose, legends of origin, folk tales.

(2) pp. 40–67. Karl Bouda's Osset Studies, under thirteen headings.

(3) pp. 68–83. Commentary by G. Deeters on some elementary Circassian texts, published at Krasnodar in 1929.

(4) pp. 84–126. Robert Blechsteiner's analysis of the specimens of Caucasian languages given by Evliya Çelebi's Seyahetname (cf. Evliya Effendi's *Narrative*, London, 1846–1850), as spoken in the seventeenth century.

The rest of the journal is occupied by reviews and notices of recent books on Caucasian subjects.

A. 475. O. Wardrop.

L'Apocalypse et les Cultes de Domitien et de Cybèle. Par P. Touilleux. 9½ × 6, pp. 192. Paris: Geuthner and Co., 1935. Frs. 30.

Fresh light on the Apocalypse would be welcome, since the most erudite commentaries on that book seem to furnish few, if any, convincing solutions of its problems. M. Touilleux has endeavoured to supply some, chiefly from the archæology of Asia Minor. Throughout he speaks of "Saint Jean" as the author, but he dates the work near the end of the first century, and supposes it to have undergone some later revision. According to his hypothesis the author's purpose was to fortify the Christians in Asia who had to suffer for refusing worship to Domitian and the *Magna Mater*, and for this purpose he

projects himself into an earlier period, giving a summary of past events in the form of a prophecy, proceeding after chapter xiv to a forecast of the future. His method was, further, the very remarkable one of showing that there was not very much difference between Christian mythology, rites, and even doctrines, and those of the pagans. Thus the story of Leto's miraculous escape from the dangers which threatened her, when about to give birth to Apollo (which M. Touilleux tries hard to transfer to Cybele), could be capped by the vision which commences chapter xiii; and the robes washed white in blood had their analogue in the practice of Cybele's priests.

The reader will be interested in the solution offered of that time-honoured puzzle, the Number of the Beast. This is given by different authorities as 616 and 666. For the former the writer accepts a suggestion of Rolland Schütz, according to which it is taken from a seal of Domitian with the legend DCXVI, meaning *Domitianus Cæsar, xvith year of Tribunicia potestas*; at the same time it is the numerical equivalent of *ATTEI*, dative of Ἄττις, beloved of Cybele. The first of these solutions has the serious inconvenience that Domitian's sixteenth year commenced 14th September, 96, four days before his death; the second that the genitive *ATTIΔOΣ* would seem to be required, and this gives the number 885! The other reading, 666, is, we are told, an "isopséphie" of *OYΛΠIOΣ*, a name of Trajan, and a "gématrie" of *Rhea Cybele la Grande*. Isopsephy means numerical equality; apparently the equality should be to *ΔOMITIANOΣ*, which is by no means the case. Since the writer occasionally uses Greek type, he must have some reason for giving a French translation in lieu of the Greek words whose letters are to be counted; possibly the name of the goddess looks less improbable in French than in the Greek *PEA KYBEΛH H MEΓAΛH*, which does, indeed, give 666, though it is far from clear why she should be in the nominative, when Attis was in the dative. Hence these solutions merely strengthen the

belief that the Number of the Beast (whether 616 or 666) can be found in the name of any person thought suitable, such as Nero, the Pope, Mr. Gladstone, etc., if a certain amount of good will be employed ; only the loading of the dice seems indispensable.

Some tribute should be paid to the writer's archæological researches, discussion of which belongs rather to the Hellenic Society's Journal than to ours.

A. 567. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

1. CRONACA DELLA MISSIONE SCIENTIFICA TUCCI NEL TIBET OCCIDENTALE (1933). By G. TUCCI and E. GHERSI. Reale Accademia d'Italia : Viaggi di Studio ed Esplorazioni, 2. 10 × 7, pp. 395, ills. 272, plans 2. Roma : Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1934. L. 50.
2. INDO-TIBETICA. Vol. III : I Templi del Tibet Occidentale e il Loro Simbolismo Artistico. Parte I : Spiti e Kunavar. By GIUSEPPE TUCCI. Reale Accademia d'Italia : Studi e Documenti, 1. 10 × 7, pp. 219, pls. 92 (3 in colour), plans 2. Roma : Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1935. L. 150.

These two volumes deal with Professor Tucci's travels in the valleys of the Chandra, Spiti, and Sutlej in the year 1933. The first is a very interesting and admirably illustrated account of this expedition into an area that is still very little known ; an English translation of it might prove a profitable speculation to an enterprising publisher, but in that case a proper map should be provided. The second, on whose prompt production the author is to be heartily congratulated, is of greater importance to Sanskrit scholars, for it describes in detail the Buddhist temples of part of the area covered, and it would seem that the excellent plates in this volume may soon be the only record of these neglected and ruinous buildings. But the volume contains more than this, Professor Tucci taking the opportunity to explain the symbolism of the frescoes and statuary and thereby throwing

much new light on the doctrines of the Tantric schools of Tibet, which appear to have been devoid of the unpleasant features sometimes associated with them elsewhere. As space is not available for a critical consideration of these points, I must content myself with strongly recommending careful study of this book to all who are concerned with the later developments of Buddhist doctrines, as well as to students of Buddhist art and iconography.

A. 311, 412. E. H. JOHNSTON.

TUḤFAT AL-AḤBĀB. Glossaire de la Matière Médicale Marocaine. By H. P. J. RENAUD. Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, tome xxiv. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. pp. xxxiv + 218 + 75. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 30.

It has been said that it is useless to attempt to identify Arabic botanical names. Yet, considering the number of countries within which Arab science was predominant and the many centuries during which that science continued to flourish, it is astonishing to what a large extent the same terms are employed with almost identical meanings. In A.D. 869 Sābūr bin Sahil promulgated from Jundī Shāpūr a pharmacopœia for the use of the whole Eastern Caliphate. It is now clear that this pharmacopœia was largely adopted by the Western Caliphate also.

The latest addition to the small library of works dealing with Arabian medicine is the text and translation with commentary of a late work entitled Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb. The manuscript is of the seventeenth or eighteenth century and the translators suggest that it is an appendix to a larger work on Medicine, which has now disappeared. The author is unknown, though he was clearly an inhabitant of southern Morocco. In spite of the fact that nearly 1,000 years had passed since Jundī Shāpūr had lost its supremacy in the world of Medicine, this work shows that Persia never lost its influence. Of the

462 drugs here named and discussed, no less than ninety-nine are noted by the commentators as being directly derived from Persia.

It only remains to say that the printing is excellent, both the Arabic and the French, and that the notes are clear. It is, in short, a technical vocabulary which will be found essential to anyone who is working on Arab Medicine.

A. 283. C. Elgood.

Les Tulunides. By Zaki Mohamed Hassan. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$. pp. 339, pls. 16. Paris: Établissements Busson, 1933.

This history of the Tulunids, who ruled over Egypt and Syria towards the end of the ninth century, is of well known importance as regards not only Egypt, but also some of the wider developments of Islam. The present book is a fuller and more comprehensive study of the subject than has been produced before. It may be described as a detailed survey of all that is to be made out about the dynasty from the original sources and from the researches of modern writers. The author has exercised much diligence and discrimination in carrying out the task, and the merits of his work will be recognized by those who concern themselves with the questions with which he deals.

Though the historical narrative has been improved, it still remains not entirely free from difficulty. A table of dates would have been useful for following it. It may be pointed out that Ṭabarî gives precise dates for the death of Yârjûkh and for the appointment of El Mufauwaḍ and El Muwaffaq as heirs to the throne and overseers of the realm, and as a matter of fact does not say that El Muwaffaq in 258 (872) received the government of Egypt from his brother. The extraordinary discrepancy between the dates given by Ṭabarî and Kindî for the battle of Ṭawâḥîn seems to have deserved discussion. It is to be feared that as a result a whole series of dates given by Kindî

would have had to be thrown overboard. The mutiny of blacks at Fusṭâṭ in 273 (887) when Khumârawaih rode out with his sword drawn to the house of the ṣâḥib esh shurṭa which they had besieged, killing every one of them that came in his way (Ibn el Athîr), and thus quelled the tumult is not mentioned. Another incident having an important bearing on the character of Khumârawaih is not referred to—his threat to Ṭughj for failure to obey his order to arrest Râghib, related, as it purports to be, in the words of Ṭughj himself in Mughrib. Ibn el 'Asâkir mentions, by the by, that Ṭughj was superseded by Badr as governor of Damascus, i.e. after his failure against the Qarmathians. The question whether Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn held his appointment in the first place direct, or not, is of little importance. Kindî may be wrong in saying that he did so, but he is confirmed by Ẓâfir el Ḥalabî, who gives what seems likely to be an exact account of the situation.

In some direction of the inquiry it is not possible to do more than make a beginning. Of the administration it might be said that there is no sign of any changes of any consequence. According to Mughrib, the father of Muḥammad ibn 'Alî el Madarâ'î did act as vizier for Khumârawaih. Among the minor Tulunid officials who might have been noticed are the mukhtâr and the *'âmil ma'ûnat en nâḥiya*, both mentioned in Ibn Sa'îd. It is to be observed that according to the *original* authority Ibn Ṭulûn began to form his army by raising levies (faraḍ furûḍan) as well as by buying slaves. It looks as if these levies and the "ḥurr murtaziq" element mentioned in Maqrîzî were identical and were the same, too, as the element described elsewhere as maulas. The maula relationship, of course, might have been established otherwise than by slavery. The levies then would probably not have been Arabs but Copts who had been converted to Islam. Attention may be drawn to the statement by Ṭabarî as to the constitution of the army of Lu'lu when he was about to join El Muwaffaq. It consisted of men of Farghâna, Greeks (Rûm), Berbers,

blacks, and others, some of the flower of the army of (nukhbat aṣḥâb) Ibn Ṭulûn. That there was a considerable Moorish contingent in the army, at any rate later, appears from Ṭabarî, where the revolt against Jaish is described as a rising of the Berbers and Maghariba. Yâqût's account of the rebuilding of the harbour of 'Akka by Ibn Ṭulûn does not seem to justify the statement that he created a naval base there.

Very few details bearing on the condition of Egypt under the Tulunids are forthcoming. One might add that of Eutychius that in the year 273 (886) wheat went up to a dînar the mudd, which, with the obvious correction to *mudy*, would mean eight dînars to the ardabb. The author seems to suggest that during the reign of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulûn the price was ten ardabbs a dînar, but all that the authority he cites says is that under the Tulunids the price "often", or more likely "sometimes", (rubbamâ) was so low. To be added to the works done by Ibn Ṭulûn is the repair of the canal of Alexandria, notable because it seems to be the only particular instance recorded of the improvements he is said to have made for agriculture. Besides the ones mentioned in the book, those of Khumârawaih included the restoration of the light tower of Alexandria and, according to Eutychius, the building of a palace for himself near Dair Murrân.

Among the well chosen plates, those representing the Tulunid house recently discovered near Cairo are likely to be of particular interest to some readers.

A. 271. R. GUEST.

THE MAHÂBHÂRATA. Vol. I: The Âdiparvan. Critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR. 11 × 8½. pp. cxix + 996, pls. col. 16, facsimiles 2. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933.

With the appearance of the eighth fascicule this great undertaking has completed the first stage of its long journey, and, as Dr. Sukthankar has now explained and defended his

methods at length in the Prolegomena, it is possible to attempt with a reasonable prospect of justice some estimate of his achievement. The learned world in Europe, as well as in India, has greeted this, the first critical edition of the great epic, with general applause, and to their verdict the present reviewer would heartily subscribe; for the work has been planned on sound lines, the standard of workmanship is high, and the rate of progress has been well maintained. A small, but significant, fact may be adduced to show the care that has been taken, namely the very modest list of errata which is appended to the final fascicule; this list is in reality much smaller than it appears, since most of the amendments relate to questions of orthography, which are irrelevant to the form of the text. That so high a level of correctness should have been reached in a point which the reader can judge for himself justifies him in presuming the same accuracy to prevail in those details for which he has to trust the editor, in particular the apparatus criticus; and this last is a matter of the highest importance for future students of the epic, whose labours will depend to a large degree on study of the variants.

Assuming that the excellence and trustworthiness of the editing do not require further proof, we have to consider what the final product amounts to. Dr. Sukthankar himself says (p. ciii) "It is but a modest attempt to present *a version of the epic as old as the extant material will permit us to reach* with some semblance of confidence. . . . It only claims to be *the most ancient one according to the direct line of transmission,* purer than the others insofar as it is free from the obvious errors of copying and spurious additions. It may be regarded . . . [as] the ancestor of all extant manuscripts." This statement has to be examined in the light of the threefold object to which textual criticism of the *Mahābhārata* should be directed, viz. firstly the constitution of the original epic, which was inflated in the course of time to our present versions, secondly the determination of the antiquity, authenticity,

and exact contents of each episode as a whole, and thirdly the text and exact degree of genuineness of each individual verse. For the last of these the editor's statement is, I would suggest, accurate. After all every verse must have had an original form, and subject to the impossibility of deciding between the claims of alternative equivalent phrases, mainly of the nature of tags which are to be found in the epic poetry of all nations, it is reasonable to hold that Dr. Sukthankar has achieved remarkable success in rejecting spurious verses and in restoring the text to its original state (of course, terms such as "spurious" or "genuine" have only a relative application to works of this class); this is all the more remarkable in that he has been able to keep conjectural emendations down to a very low figure, some 35 in nearly 8,000 verses. Other scholars have shown by detailed comparison of this edition with its predecessors that, wherever it differs, the result is to give us a sharper, more vivid reading; we should note specially the more archaic character of the critical text, the toleration of hiatus, particularly between *pādas*, hypermetry, and the use of unusual forms and constructions. Some of these cases will no doubt require further consideration; thus he discusses on p. xcii his emendation at i, 41, 5, *gate "rtāṁs trāṇam icchataḥ*, which assumes the elision of *ā*; but the form *arti* for *ārti* is well established (*PW*. s.v., *Saundarananda*, x, 32, and *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, iii, 220) and I would suggest that we have here the parallel adjective *arta*. In the same passage he refers to *nagṛha* of i, 86, 5; having had occasion to collect instances of compounds with *na*, I came to the conclusion that their use, though very infrequent, is commoner than Indian and European grammarians allow. I mention these details because the editor has very properly relied only on his MSS. to obtain his readings, and it might easily be overlooked that there is a small residuum of verses whose text can only be settled after confrontation with parallel passages elsewhere. Personally, I have studied four such cases in connection with my own work, but, however little I like the text adopted in them,

I find it hard to put forward really convincing alternatives; and in any case it was most certainly not the editor's duty to delay publication in order to carry out lengthy, and possibly fruitless, searches for parallels.

With regard to the constitution of the individual episodes, the statement I have quoted from the Prolegomena might easily be misunderstood; for this version of the *Ādiparvan* admittedly has a certain amount of matter in it that could have been safely excluded as later interpolation.[1] The principle followed here, so far as I can see, has been to admit into the text all verses for whose inclusion there is a general consensus of MS. authority, such consensus being held to outweigh other considerations. Though the inevitable outcome is a text which we may well believe not to be as ancient as that which higher criticism, building on the foundations here laid, will be able to arrive at with a high degree of probability, the procedure adopted is in my view the only proper one; for what we want first is the text to which an examination of all the MS. material leads us, and, when that is available, it is then the business of individual students to consider each episode separately and try to work out its original form. For the editor to have attempted this would have resulted in the constitution of a text too subjective for use as the basis of further exploration.

What prospect then is there of going behind the present form of the epic and arriving at a sensibly older version? Though elsewhere (p. lxxix) Dr. Sukthankar states that "even in its early phases the Mahabharata textual tradition must have been not uniform and simple, but multiple and polygenous", yet in the extract given above he suggests somewhat hesitatingly it is true, that the *Ādiparvan* in the

[1] See, for instance, *Addenda et Corrigenda*, p. 992, on *adhyāya* 87. Note also that for the genuineness of the Śakuntalā episode, *ib.*, p. 990, on *adhyāya* 62, Dr. Sukthankar has perhaps underestimated the value of the evidence of the version in the Bengali recension of the *Padmapurāṇa, Svargakhaṇḍa*, edited in H. Sarma, *Padmapurāṇa and Kālidāsa*, Calcutta 1925.

many versions we now possess proceeds from a single ancestor of the same general shape. This somewhat unexpected conclusion seems justified by the evidence provided by the degree of agreement between the two versions, whose importance he stresses, and which he is the first properly to exploit, namely those of Kashmir and Malabar. It appears, therefore, that the divergence between the northern and southern recensions, and *a fortiori* between the various versions subordinate to those recensions, began first to be appreciable at a later date than one might have supposed, as if in fact the earlier textual tradition had not been so multiple and polygenous as suggested. Yet the book is clearly a mass of heterogeneous material by different authors and of different dates, so that, if a like result is reached in the remaining *parvans*, any hopes still entertained of arriving at an " Ur-Mahābhārata " must be abandoned and critical efforts be limited to determining how much of each episode is the work of the author who first composed it, and possibly to forming some idea of the relative dates of the different episodes. For this purpose the present edition forms an admirable starting point, in that it sweeps away a mass of later accretion which has hitherto inevitably claimed disproportionate attention from inquirers, and that, by its close approach to the primitive wording, it makes it possible to observe distinctions of style, whose outlines have been blurred by the levelling action of generations of diaskeuasts and copyists. But it is just possible that this is too pessimistic a view of the case. After all the *Ādiparvan* contains very little really old material, and it is an undoubted fact that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* the greatest measure of agreement between the different recensions is to be found in the relatively modern parts. We shall know better where we stand, when the *Sabhāparvan* is published ; for it unites in a strange mixture some of the oldest matter in the epic with some of the most modern, and, if we cannot gain from a critical edition of it an approximate idea of its original contents, then, but not till then, need we despair of the possibility of sub-

stantial progress in the reconstitution of an older form of the epic.

Finally the hope may be expressed that Dr. Sukthankar will be able to maintain the same orderly rate of progress and ultimately to complete a work which will be an enduring monument to the learning and perseverance of him and his colleagues.

A. 134. E. H. JOHNSTON.

A CHRONICLE OF THE EARLY SAFAWĪS, BEING THE AHSANU'T-TAWĀRĪKH OF ḤASAN-I RŪMLŪ. Edited by C. H. SEDDON. Vol. II (English translation), 301 pp. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 44, 9½ × 6, pp. xv + 301. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1934, Rs. 8.8.

It is curious that the comparatively late epoch of the Ṣafawids (A.D. 1502–1722) is still less known to us than the times of the Saljuqs (better: *Säljüks*) and especially the Mongols. Until Mr. Seddon's present edition of the chief chronicle of Shāh Tahmāsp's times this long reign (A.D. 1527–76) remained a rather obscure period. The text now published covers the years 900–85 H. (A.D. 1494–1577) and is the vital part of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's work. Of its earlier portion, only the volume on the times of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty is known to exist in Leningrad and Dr. Hinz (Berlin) proposes to describe its contents. One must agree with Mr. Seddon that Ḥasan-i Rūmlū is a dull historian and his chronicle compares unfavourably with Iskandar Munshī's history of Shah 'Abbās (*'Ālamārā*). However, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū records numerous facts which enrich our knowledge of the epoch. Mr. Seddon's abridged translation is a convenient guide through Ḥasan's redundant original, and many useful explanations will also be found in the notes to both volumes. Mr. Seddon will put his readers under a still greater obligation by publishing a detailed index of

personal, tribal, and geographical names into which the necessary corrections of spellings (more particularly in Turkish names) will be easily introduced (see my suggestions in the *Bulletin S.O.S.*, vol. vii, 2, pp. 449–55, and vol. vii, 4, pp. 990–3).

Speaking on an international scale we find that the chief attention of the Iranian scholars is still turned towards philology, religions, and art. Persian history needs a drastic overhaul, but before we can conveniently utilize the main original sources all more ambitious schemes will run the risk of remaining in the air. Therefore the publication of the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* is a very welcome event in the domain of Persian (Iranian) historical studies.

A. 390. V. MINORSKY.

(A review of vol. i was published in *JRAS.*, October, 1934, p. 809.)

SANSKRIT TEXTS FROM BĀLI. Critically edited with an introduction by SYLVAIN LÉVI. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, lxvii. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxxv + 112. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1933. Rs. 3 as. 8.

If the beautiful island of Bāli has been unfortunate enough of late to attract the attention of "cruising" tourists, its inhabitants have had the consolation of receiving at least one visitor who united full sympathy with their civilization to a learning capable of penetrating its secrets and grasping its great historical interest. The present volume, the fruit of that visit, contains a collection of the Sanskrit texts found in current use there by Professor Lévi, which, if they do not add much to our knowledge of Sanskrit literature, are most valuable to us as illuminating the spread of Hindu influence and ideas among the islands further east. The editor has succeeded in a way that hardly any other scholar could have done in restoring and identifying these corrupt fragments, which for the most part come from Tantric works, both

Hindu and Buddhist. One small addition may, however, be made here, namely that the two Sragdharā verses in praise of the Buddha on p. 49 are to be found in *Gaṇḍīstotra*, verses 1 and 11, though the version here printed does not, so far as I can see, enable any improvement to be made in their reconstruction.

A. 388. E. H. JOHNSTON.

DIWAN-I-ZU 'L-FAḲAR. The Collected Poems of Ẕu 'l-Faḳār Shirwanī. Edited by EDWARD EDWARDS, British Museum Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts. 9¾ × 6¾, pp. vi + 466. London: Trustees, 1934.

This is a facsimile reproduction of a new manuscript acquired by the British Museum a few years ago. Ẕu 'l-Faqār Shirwānī was a thirteenth century Persian poet with some repute as a writer of highly artificial ornate verse, whose works were supposed to have been lost except for parts of a few *qaṣīdas* quoted by various *tazkhira* writers. By editing this excellent reproduction, and writing a scholarly and valuable introduction to it, Mr. Edwards has rendered a notable service to all Persian students. The manuscript was purchased from Messrs. Luzac, but I have not been able to ascertain from what place in the East it was originally unearthed. It is dated A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344), only forty or fifty years after the author's death—and Mr. Edwards (probably correctly) considers that it was written in Iṣfahān. The writing is "good, clear, Persian *naskh*". At the same time it is not always easy to read. Diacritical points are constantly omitted or misplaced; sometimes words—even several successive words—have no dots, and this defect enhances the difficulty of compositions, which are in any case extraordinarily hard to understand. Moreover, there are many mistakes; the only line quoted in Mr. Edwards's introduction requires two emendations to make it scan and yield a meaning. The *qaṣīdas* follow one another without any

discernible order; they are not arranged in the usual alphabetical way, nor according to the date of their composition. I do not find among them the *qaṣīda* attributed to Z̲u 'l-Faqār by Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Ḥāshimī in his Makhzanu 'l-gharāib, and commented on by Ethé in his Bodleian catalogue, beginning: چمن شد ار گل صد برگ تازه دلبروار. This is quite in Z̲u 'l-Faqār's style, but so little trust is to be put in these biographers that its omission from this Dīwān throws serious doubts upon its authorship. In a good many cases this manuscript has a blank where the name of the patron (*mamdūḥ*) should come. Sometimes the whole half line (*miṣrā'*) is a blank; sometimes just the title (*laqab*); and once or twice we have — 'd-Dīn. This cannot be because the copyist could not read the name; any educated Muslim can at once read common forms such as these. The name must have been cut out on purpose, probably for some political reason. I interpret this to mean that our manuscript is a copy of an earlier contemporary copy made by someone other than Z̲u 'l-Faqār himself.

Very little is known of the poet's life, and Mr. Edwards has gathered from the poems themselves about all we know. He clearly points out the glaring inaccuracies of Dawlatshāh, and his later imitators. A consideration of the facts now elucidated is enough to destroy all confidence in any historical statement made by these writers. Z̲u 'l-Faqār's poetic career lasted for at least sixty years, for his *qaṣīda* in honour of Kamālu 'd-Dīn Isma'īl must have been written before A.D. 1237—perhaps several years before—and those to Sulṭān Muẓaffar and his Minister, Khālid Abharī, not earlier than A.D. 1295. He was writing freely in the days of Yūsuf Shāh of Luristān (A.D. 1274–1285) and Jalālu 'd-Dīn of Kirmān (A.D. 1281–1291). It is natural to suppose that the various patrons panegyrized by him—of whom next to Ruknu 'd-Dīn Mas'ūd of Iṣfahān the most frequently mentioned is a certain Qiwāmu 'l-Mulk (probably of Kirmān)—

were notabilities who flourished in the intervening period, but the historical sources known to me do not enable me to identify most of them. One fragment gives the date, A.H. 675 (A.D. 1276) and the place where a certain Sayfu 'd-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh died (p. 424), and the *qaṣīda* on pp. 288, 289 is dated A.H. 683 (A.D. 1283). This *qaṣīda* is in honour of Jalālu 'd-Dīn Suyurghatmish of Kirmān, and it thus appears that the poet was a panegyrist of the Kirmān ruler some years before Yūsuf Shāh of Luristān died, so that Mr. Edwards' suggestion that he transferred his allegiance from Luristān to Kirmān when Yūsuf Shāh died and his son Afrāsiyāb persecuted his father's protegées seems of doubtful validity. Probably he wrote in honour of anybody likely to reward him, at any time likely to be propitious. To the list of Ẕu'l-Faqār's well known patrons given by Mr. Edwards, we may add the Īlkhān Aḥmad (p. 327) and, probably, Shamsu'd-Dīn Juwaynī the Ṣāḥib Dīwān.

Ẕu 'l-Faqār is not one of the great writers of Persian literature—he is not even mentioned by Browne—but he had, as I have said, a considerable reputation in the eyes of the *tazkhira* writers, and the manuscript now reproduced enables us to judge of his worth as a poet. He is a most ingenious and skilful writer of highly artificial compositions of the kind analysed by Browne in his *Literary History*, vol. 2, ch. 1. It is a matter of taste, of course, but I cannot myself understand why anyone should have admired these strange figures of rhetorical exaggeration. They did; and cleverness of this kind was greatly liked by all who could understand it. Yet a man cannot claim a place among the greater poets of the world by reason of such merits alone. In order to justify my giving an opinion of Ẕu'l-Faqār I have carefully read the whole of this Dīwān—a labour which I cannot honestly advise anyone else to undertake. I find a few pretty and touching laments (marṣiyas) and one or two short pieces that show real poetic feeling. Of the laments, that on pp. 374-7 on the death of a certain Sulaymān

Shāh, beginning:

چنان جان جهان بی جان دریغست
چنان خورشید رخ پنهان دریغست

is perhaps the best. But the mass of the Dīwān is, in my opinion, unattractive. It is true that it often reminds one of Qā'ānī, but it lacks Qā'ānī's wonderful command of language and melody, whilst in a few instances rivalling Qā'ānī in ribald coarseness.

Ẕu 'l-Faqār's poetry is hard to understand. Thus, the author of the Makhzanu'l-gharāib writes of him: قصاید پر مصنوع داردکه فهمیدنش دشوار است, i.e. he writes very artificial *qaṣīdas* which it is difficult to understand. He says of himself:

چنان طرازد طرز سخن که از نکتش
بیک دقیقه بماند بیست دانشمند

i.e. twenty wise men fail to solve even one fine point in his conceits. If this be the case I am not ashamed to confess that I have found in nearly every *qaṣīda* a line or more which I cannot understand. The verses are full of strange words, obscure allusions, rhetorical tricks, puns, and double meanings. The manuscript does not make things easier by omitting diacritical points and making occasional mistakes. Moreover, the proper understanding of Persian odes, even when written by authors not generally considered difficult, is often now impossible. No one, for example, considers Ḥāfiẓ specially hard, but I am persuaded that the full meaning of many of his odes is now for ever lost. One must picture to oneself the nature of these little poems. Something has happened, and on this the poet composes an ode and recites it in a *darbār* or *majlis* held by his patron. Ideas and words are chosen to suit the particular circumstances. The assembled listeners very well know these circumstances, and are tickled by the skilful use of words and metre selected to suit the case. From us all these beauties are more or less hidden, and phrases and ideas which delighted all hearers and gave genuine pleasure

to the subject of the panegyric are beyond our appreciation. Even where the main fact can be gathered subsidiary facts are unknown. In one *qaṣīda* Ẕu'l-Faqār refers to his having been given a sorry nag to ride. To grasp the full meaning of all he says we should have to know the character of the donor, the occasion of the giving, and all the various circumstances which give point to the words he uses.

The metres used by Ẕu 'l-Faqār in this Dīwān call for no special remarks. He is particularly fond of *mujtaṣṣ-i-makhbūn*.

A. 195. C. N. Seddon.

The Megiddo Water System. By Robert S. Lamon. (University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. xxxii.) Chicago, 1935. (Cambridge University Press.) 4to, pp. xxii + 38, pls. i–viii, and text-illustrations. Price 13*s*. 6*d*. net.

Megiddo, like other ancient fortresses, depended on a secure water supply, but its only well lay outside the wall, and the rock of the citadel is too porous for cisterns. A surface spring, however, on the western slope was traced back to its source, and progressively exploited by tunnelling, when the "water table" in the rock sank, as it has sunk generally in Palestine. Originally the entrance to this cave-well was exposed, and had to be guarded—indeed, the remains of a sentry were found at his post—but later it was concealed, and the water was made accessible only from within the city, by a vertical shaft and horizontal tunnel, which offered difficult problems to the ancient surveyors, whose corrections of geometrical errors can still be seen, as in the Siloam tunnel. As at Siloam, work went on from both ends. From objects included in a blocking wall, the date of this great work is in the twelfth century B.C., but it had to be repaired (after a period of neglect) in the tenth and again in the seventh.

The excavators are to be congratulated on a difficult feat of exploration and interpretation, and not least on their ingenious photography.

A. 513. J. L. Myres.

DAS HEBRÄISCHE EPOS. By D. ARVID BRUNO. Eine Rhythmische und Textkritische Untersuchung der Bücher Samuelis und Könige. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$. pp. 257 + 164, plan 1. Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksell's Boktryceri, 1935.

An attempt to show that the prose of Samuel and Kings follows a definite rhythmic scheme, capable of scansion. The rhythm is determined by accentual ictus, the metres varying between $4 + 4 + 4$, $5 + 5 + 5$, and $6 + 6 + 6$. Each of these is susceptible of variation; e.g. $5 + 5 + 5$, may appear as $4 + 6 + 5$, $5 + 6 + 4$, $4 + 5 + 6$, etc., so long as the total number of beats is preserved in a phrasing.

In order to substantiate his thesis the author is obliged to assume entensive textual corruptions. These proceed both from scribal error and from editorial "correction". To the latter belong the many amplifications (e.g. "the King Solomon" for an original "Solomon") which have upset the rhythmic balance of sentences.

The Massoretic text is printed, with rhythmic markings, the emendations being confined to the Commentary.

A priori, the author's thesis is plausible enough. Books which embody so much popular material may well have incorporated the metric structure of original epic poems and ballads. Moreover, the Oriental practice of *chanting* rather than *reading* may well have influenced the style of authors.

On the other hand, there is much to be said against Dr. Bruno's particular reconstruction. Firstly, it presumes a pronunciation of Hebrew which, though current to-day, was not necessarily that of the ancient writers. Secondly, whilst it makes considerable allowance for constant editorial revisions it does not sufficiently appreciate the fact that the books of the Bible have gone through a process of grammatical levelling and that many archaic forms have been ironed out. We, therefore, have no guarantee that forms exhibited by our present text really represent what the authors wrote. Hence, to construct metrical theories on the basis of the present recension is necessarily precarious. Thirdly, in his attempts

to reconstruct the original text, Dr. Bruno seems to rely too much on dictionary and concordance and too little on syntax and idiom. Thus, his emendation of 1 Samuel i, 6, בַּעֲבוּר הַרְעִמָהּ into בְּעָבְרָהּ עֲרֻמָּה "because she went about childless" is simply not Hebrew. The substituted phrase could only mean "because she passed by naked"! Similarly, to emend חָדֵלּוּ עַד in Hannah's song (1 Samuel ii, 5) to הָדוּ לָעַד "ever make a fair show" involves the creation of a new verb and ignores the simpler חָדְלוּ עֲבֹד "cease from toiling in servitude". Again, in 1 Samuel ii, 25: "if a man sin against another וּפִלְלוֹ אֱלֹהִים", Dr. Bruno's emendation וּפִלְלוֹ גֹּאֵל הַדָּם is particularly infelicitous, because it ignores the fact that the allusion is to trial before the tribal gods; cf. Exodus xxii, 8: עַד הָאֱלֹהִים יָבֹא דְּבַר־שְׁנֵיהֶם and *mahar ilim* in the Code of Ḫammurapiḫ. As a final example may be cited the emendation of וְלִשְׁלֹשׁ קִלְּשׁוֹן in 1 Samuel xiii, 21, to וְשָׁלַק לְשׁוֹנוֹ "and his tongue burned (for axes)", as a supposed parallel to וְהָיְתָה הַפְּצִירָה פִים לַמַּחֲרֵשֹׁת. The objections to this are that (*a*) it misunderstands the first phrase completely; (*b*) it makes לָשׁוֹן masculine, which is a late and often doubtful use (Ps. xxii, 16; Job xxvii, 4; Zeph. iii, 3); (*c*) שׁלק "burn" does not exist, the forms יַשִּׂיק and נִשְּׂקָה (Isa. xliv, 15; Ps. lxxviii, 21) being derived rather from rt. נשק as is clear from תהנשק in APO 56, 9; (*d*) שלש קלשון as a parallel to מחרשת may well mean "trident", such instruments having been found in Palestine, e.g. at Tell Duweir; (*e*) even if שׁלק could be postulated for the forms cited, it would mean "ignite" not "burn", which in this sense is בער.

These examples will suffice to show that Dr. Bruno's

reconstructed text is open to serious question. Since his theory depends so much upon it, it is clear that it cannot be viewed but with misgivings. This, however, does not detract from the merits of an investigation no less distinguished for its patience and honesty because its conclusions cannot be endorsed.

A. 406. THEODOR HERZL GASTER.

THE SCRIPT OF HARAPPA AND MOHENJODARO AND ITS CONNECTION WITH OTHER SCRIPTS. By G. R. HUNTER. With an introduction by Professor S. LANGDON (Studies in the History of Culture, No. 1). $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$: pp. xii + 210 : pls. 37. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1934. 21*s*.

This was a thesis submitted to the University of Oxford in 1929. It is thus two years older than the chapters on the Indus script by Messrs. Smith and Gadd and by Professor Langdon in *Mohenjo-daro*, 1931. To readers of this *Journal* much of Dr. Hunter's theory is already known from his critical review of *Mohenjo-daro*, ch. xxi–xxiii, in 1932, pp. 466–503. Dr. Hunter's contribution to the debate are important, for he paid three long visits to Mohenjodaro and Harappa (1927, 1929, 1931) and copied there every inscription excavated up to April, 1932.

The author has followed the good method of tabulating every occurrence of each sign. From the regularity of their occurrence in particular positions and contexts he obtains an interpretation of certain signs : in particular the numeral signs, the ordinal suffix, the word for *servant* and its determinative, *slave*, and its determinative, *son*, the ablative and dative suffixes (p. 3 : but as regards determinatives cf. *Journal*, loc. cit., 489). At the time of writing, and perhaps at the time of publication, this was the most thorough attempt at interpretation yet made. Now, however, it will

also be necessary to reckon with the system of P. Meriggi in *ZDMG.*, 1934, pp. 198–241.

In the script Dr. Hunter finds a close resemblance with the Elamite and a less close resemblance with early Sumerian. He finds Brāhmī (with Professor Langdon) and also a large part of Sabæan and even Phœnician to be derivative from the Indus writing. These last connections seem to be erroneous: the derivation of the south-Semitic and the proto-Canaanite-Phœnician alphabets from that represented at Serabīt el-Khādem is now practically certain, and one sees no convincing reason for abandoning the derivation of Brāhmī from a Semitic alphabet. On the other hand Dr. Hunter's table seems satisfactorily to establish the connection between the Indus and the old Elamite writing.

A.215. E. BURROWS.

A HISTORY OF PERAK. By R. O. WINSTEDT, R. J. WILKINSON. 9½ × 6½, pp. iv + 180, pls. xiv. [= *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xii, part i.] Singapore: Malayan Branch, R.A.S., 1934.

The history of the States of the Malay Peninsula can never be fully related because records older than the sixteenth century are scanty, so far as there are any at all. The bulk of this work deals, therefore, with the period beginning about 1500 and ending with 1883. It is mainly based on Dutch and British sources, the latter becoming increasingly important in the nineteenth century. The appendices, amounting to nearly a third of the whole volume, contain a variety of interesting material mainly concerning the origin and genealogies of the Perak ruling house and of the leading chiefs of the State. The names of the authors are a guarantee of the value and trustworthiness of the work and it makes interesting reading.

The history of the State is largely concerned with its relations to neighbouring powers, Portuguese, Achinese,

Dutch, Bugis, Siamese, and British, as well as the adjoining Malay States, from most of which Perak had a good deal to suffer. The events which led to the tragic death of the first British Resident are discreetly and fairly related. The ultimate responsibility for them must be laid on the Colonial Government of the Straits Settlement for its unfortunate choice both of the Resident and of the Sultan, neither of whom was suited to his post while each was antipathetic to the other.

I have noticed few points for criticism. The statement that " Sri Vijaya used Nagari or North Indian characters " (p. 4) must be qualified by the fact that its three earliest (late seventh century) records are in a southern form of the Indian alphabet. I must disclaim the discovery of the Society's manuscript mentioned on p. 7. It was catalogued by Van der Tuuk long before I saw it. On p. 117, l. 20, " dispose " is evidently a misprint for " dispense ". On p. 129, l. 7 from the bottom, for " 1926 " read " 1826 ".

A. 280. C. O. BLAGDEN.

HAYAGRIVA, THE MANTRAVANIC ASPECT OF HORSE-CULT IN CHINA AND JAPAN. By Dr. R. H. VAN GULIK. Supplement to vol. xxxiii of Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. 13¼ × 10¼, pp. 105, ills. 14. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935. Gld. 7·50.

This learned monograph, which runs to 105 large quarto pages with numerous illustrations and plates, after a brief introduction on the general subject of the Mahayanic gods, discusses Hayagriva first in India, then in China, and finally in Japan. The author, who makes abundant references to the original literary sources, describes the position of the cult in pre-Buddhistic and in its more developed form after the introduction of Buddhism. He also deals fully with the iconography and with the magical aspects of the cult. The study is a most important one not only to specialist students

but also to those who are interested in the general development of the higher religions in Asia and their relation to primitive animism. The whole monograph is a mine of information on matters concerned with the Horse-cult in the Far East and should prove of great value not only to those who are properly equipped linguistically but also to the others, like the present reviewer, who is woefully conscious —and was made more so by reading this volume—of his inadequate knowledge of the religious literature of China and Japan.

A.467. L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUMERIAN ART. By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY. 11 × 7¾, pp. 140, pls. 72, in colour 1. London: Faber and Faber, 1935. 30s.

It is fitting that Sir Leonard Woolley, who has probably unearthed more Sumerian monuments than any other man living, should guide us through that great collection for which he is in large part responsible. In this beautifully printed book he has selected for us a number of illustrations of representative pieces of Sumerian Art, and he has set a measure of order in a collection which is by no means easy to catalogue. His method is to describe each piece in detail, paying special attention to technical considerations, thereby enabling us to understand the trend and development of that art—an art on which tradition and convention were rigidly imposed for a thousand years or more.

Sir Leonard can explain many technical considerations which might escape the notice of other critics who unlike him have not seen with their own eyes thousands of objects emerge from the ground, pass through their hands, and yield to that medical and surgical treatment which is so often required. As a consequence we are made to understand with singular clarity the nature of the raw materials which conditioned the development of Sumerian art—how, for

example, the art of incrustation developed from the primitive wall mosaics, how the column developed from the palm trunk, defensive walling from half timber work, vaults from reed huts—and a dozen other details of the greatest interest which the reader must examine if he wishes for a full perspective of the art.

In the matter of critical appreciation Sir Leonard has refrained from committing himself, but he often drops suggestive hints—" the conscious striving after beauty for its own sake. . . is characteristic of Greek rather than of Near Eastern art." In illustrating the general development he expounds with clearness the tendency of Sargonid art to free itself from cramping, and the tendency of art of the Third dynasty of Ur towards abstraction.

Often enough, however, when it comes to appraisement of individual pieces, I find myself in disagreement, and indeed that is to be expected, for happily no two persons unless perhaps they be Siamese twins can be relied on to go through the same gallery and invariably admire the same works of art.

The first two chapters in the book are concerned with the prehistoric and protohistoric periods of Sumer, and we have a most interesting discussion on the painted fabrics of Al 'Ubaid, Uruk, and Jamdat Nasr. It must be admitted, I think, that the various influences underlying these fabrics are not yet fully understood, but I cannot agree with Sir Leonard's verdict that " Elam lagged behind ". It seems to me that the Al 'Ubaid ware of Sumer with its simple designs and generally indifferent potting is essentially a provincial art, and that the *fons et origo* was Iran. We have only to look at the collection of early sherds brought home by Sir Aurel Stein from S. Iran to realize that the pot fabrics of that country display a wealth of design, an intricate variety of motifs, and an eye for pattern that is absent from any prehistoric ware yet discovered in Sumer. The provincial ware of Al 'Ubaid never developed after the manner of the

Elamite pot fabrics, which reached their high water mark in the pottery of Susa I. Sir Leonard indeed points out that Susa I is an advanced development of the potter's art, and he does well to stress the point, for Susa I is certainly not, as some writers maintain, in an early stage of ceramic. It seems to me, however, that the fertility of designs which we find on the cylinder seals and impressions of the Uruk and Jamdat Nasr periods may easily be a logical development of Elamite or Iranian art, and that the same fertile invention which produced the infinitely varied pottery of S. Iran, as exemplified in the prehistoric pottery of Persepolis, may have been ultimately responsible for those seal impressions illustrated in the last chapter of the book.

It is as well to stress this point, because Sir Leonard along with other writers is at pains to emphasize the supposed influence of Anatolia, which is said to manifest itself in the grey ware that enters Sumer at the beginning of the Uruk period. Now I admit that there is no logical reason why we should not entertain the possibility that there was an Anatolian influence in the Uruk period, but I would at least observe that there is as yet no evidence amounting to proof that Anatolian pottery antedates Uruk. We have yet to be shown some fabric from Asia Minor which can definitely be said to be an ancestor of Uruk ware. This point of view has been clearly set forth by Mr. R. W. Hutchinson in a paper entitled "Uruk and Yortan", in *Iraq* of October, 1935.

Sir Leonard has, I think, produced stronger arguments for the influence of Syria in the early period. It seems to me, however, that he has rather neglected prehistoric Assyria, which must also have exercised some influence on early Sumer. It must be remembered that Nineveh was one of the largest, and probably one of the most important, prehistoric centres of Western Asia, and that on the enormous site of Kuyunjik, Uruk ware is to be found from one end of the city to another. It would be perfectly reasonable to make

out a case for Kuyunjik as one of the earliest centres of distribution of Uruk ware, and I would as soon believe that the red slip ware of Uruk was invented and exploited in Kuyunjik as anywhere else. Further, I think that the possibility that the polychrome ware of Tall Halaf had an influence on the trichrome ware of Jamdat Nasr should not be overlooked. The discovery in Uruk of a brecciated limestone vase of the Jamdat Nasr period made of a material almost certainly imported from the Mosul area, and the occurrence at Gawrah and Warka of the curious double looped idols seems to me significant evidence of a close contact between Assyria and Sumer at this period.

The author has many interesting remarks to make on the early sculpture. One hesitates to comment on matters which depend on individual taste, but I think personally that Sir Leonard has underestimated the achievement of the Tall Asmar statuary with its brilliantly executed genre treatment and obvious feeling for individual portraiture. Here also I must make my most serious criticism—the absence of any illustration or description of the bronze head of a king (?); some think that he may be Sargon of Akkad himself, found by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson at Kuyunjik in 1931. To my mind this head is outstanding even among the many treasures of the Iraq Museum, and comes near to achieving perfection in the blending of abstract art and portraiture. It is, of course, a descendant of an ancient tradition which produced the gold wig of Mes-Kalam-Dug, and we cannot be considered to have fully appraised the early art of Western Asia without having studied it.[1]

The comments on the stone construction of the early Royal graves are very important. Even since the writing of this book earlier antecedents for domical construction have been found in Assyria, in the shape of the stone *tholoi* at Arpachiyah—with precisely those limestone rubble founda-

[1] The head is published in the *Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, vol. xix, Nos. 3–4, plate L.

tions which Sir Leonard acutely observes to have persisted in Sumer long after they had outlived their *raison d'être*. That tradition again may well go back to Assyria, where the method of building was in use long before the Uruk period. In this context it is interesting to remember the apsidal stone buildings at Tarxien in Neolithic Malta, still perhaps the earliest of their kind in Western Asia.

We are given ample measure of illustrations of masterpieces from the royal cemetery of Ur, and Sir Leonard draws timely attention to the "impromptu" sketch of the Scorpion man on one of the shell plaques fronting the sound box of a lyre with the apt comment that though in general "the Sumerian succeeds least in his representation of the human figure; it can hardly have been lack of observation or skill". We have always to remember that the art of this period was conditioned by a religious ritual which dominated with the real tyranny of a theocracy; but because the artisans of the time were artists and not mere craftsmen their art emerged all the more brilliant for its subordination to the canons imposed upon it.

In the estimate of sculpture of the dynastic period I am not convinced that "Lagash was probably always provincial and backward" nor do I think that there is sufficient evidence of statuary of the Ur Nina period to warrant the statement that there was a period of decadence during his reign. The limestone plaque from Lagash, on plate 49 (*a*) may be crude, but I see no lack of composition in it, and in my opinion it is a better piece of work than the corresponding plaque from Ur illustrated on plate 54 (*a*).

There is an admirable description of the artistic progress made in the Sargonid period when the artists had overcome their old "horror vacui", which perhaps had been due to the translation on to stone of subjects which had originally been engraved upon shell or incrusted. In the interesting account of the stela of Naram Sin due attention is drawn to the pyramidal composition. For me, the charm of that

monument lies in the graceful lines and proportions of the individuals, giving an impression of loose-limbed athletes on the move—a remarkable contrast to the heavy stocky figures of the older Sumerian art.

The consideration of Sumerian sculpture ends with a description of the famous Gudea statues of polished diorite. These monuments survive to take their rightful place among the masterpieces of the world's sculpture, and they have not been without their effect on the living sculptors of to-day. After reading Sir Leonard's stimulating comments and shrewd technical observations, I hope that students may be tempted to refer back to the original publication of the monuments in the magnificent folios by Léon Heuzey, published nearly a quarter of a century ago. It is fashionable to decry the work of early pioneers, but Heuzey's appreciation of the Gudea statuary in the Louvre, written in a beautiful French, still stands to-day as a masterpiece of æsthetic criticism, an art peculiar to the Latin genius. And in addition the statutes in Heuzey's folio are illustrated by a magnificent series of holographic plates, unfortunately a process prohibitive in cost, but one that seems to me to reproduce the texture of stone as no other process can.

There are a few minor slips in the references: on page 58 the vase referred to as third dynasty is rightly described as Sargonid on plate 52 (*a*) and in the text on page 96; on page 86, Kafaje should be written Khafaje; and on page 98 plate 53 (*b*) should be plate 55 (*b*).

I have in this review deliberately taken controversial matters and expressed differing opinions on them; but this is in no way intended to detract from Sir Leonard's authoritative judgment. This book stimulates us to think about many of the major problems of Sumerian art, and Sir Leonard has performed a very considerable service in setting these monuments in order. The book is full of original thinking and apt comment, and I trust that readers will be encouraged to consult it and will find profit and delight in pursuing the

study of that art for which Sir Leonard has done so much.

A. 501. M. E. L. MALLOWAN.

ELEMENTS OF ASTROLOGY. By ABU'L-RAYHAN AL-BIRUNI The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology. Reproduced from Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8349. With a translation by R. RAMSAY WRIGHT. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xviii + 333. London : Luzac and Co., 1934. 42*s*. net.

This publication consists of two parts. On the one side of the page the author has reproduced in lithograph the Arabic MS. of the British Museum and on the opposite side he has reproduced by mechanical process the typed MS. of his English translation. Al-Biruni's work has come down in two versions, one Arabic and the other Persian, and the late Mr. Wright, who died before he completed the introduction, leaves it somewhat undecided whether Al-Biruni himself wrote it in both languages—a distinct possibility in view of the fact that the book was dedicated to Rayhanah, possibly a member of the royal house. Be this as it may, the translation has been made from the Persian version. Al-Biruni shows in this work his wide knowledge of mathematics, geography, and astronomy. The first chapter contains a commentary on Euclid, followed by another on Ptolomy.

Before entering more deeply into the principal subject, the author gives a chapter on chronology, the names of the months among various nations, and on the fasts and feasts observed by them. Then follow all the astronomical data concerning the seasons, the relation of stars to one another, their apposition in the celestial sphere, the Zodiac, together with remarks on the influence which the various constellations exercise upon human life as well as upon plants and animals. Minute tables are given illustrating the planets, their conjunctions and the influence which they exercise. A chapter is devoted to the Astrolabe and the calculation of nativities.

This is only a brief summary of a work which required special scholarship to render it adequately into English, since it bristles with a large number of technical terms and is of a very complicated nature. In those days astronomy flourished greatly, notably among the Arabs, and held sway for many centuries. And yet it is a curious fact that it was transmitted to the Christian world only through Mashallah (not Abu Mashar). His Arabic work was translated into Hebrew by Abn Esra, and an early French translation at the end of the twelfth century became the basis of all the Latin translations which henceforth circulated in Europe. How far Al-Biruni may have been the source of Abu Mashar's compilation, or of his immediate predecessor's work, can now be determined in the light of this important though unfortunately posthumous publication. Only 100 copies of the book have been printed. The number of the copy sent to the R.A.S. is 58.

A.243. M. GASTER.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By W. O. E. OESTERLEY and THEODORE H. ROBINSON. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. xvi + 454. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: 1934. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The problems raised by the Old Testament are so many and the literature so vast that a single-handed work upon the subject becomes well nigh an impossible task. It was therefore a happy idea on the part of Professors Oesterley and Robinson to collaborate upon this book. The result of their collaboration is an unqualified success. The object which the authors set before them was to write an Introduction to the Old Testament which would steer midway between the elaborateness of Driver and the more concise manuals of Buchanan Gray and McFadyen. In this object they have admirably succeeded. They have accomplished the herculean task of reading through and assimilating the extensive literature upon the subject with conspicuous ability. Moreover,

the book reads so smoothly that it is difficult to detect anywhere signs of dual authorship. Every page bears witness to the authors' wide reading, as well as to their powers of criticism and analysis. The work is at once informing and stimulating, up-to-date in its scholarship, lucid in its exposition, concise without being skimpy (the chapter on the forms of Hebrew poetry is a particularly happy example of lucidity and compression), and may be unreservedly recommended to all students of the subject.

A.342. J. LEVEEN.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA. By SIR CHARLES FAWCETT. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp. xx + 269, maps 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. 15*s.*

During the early decades of the East India Company's connection with India judicial functions were vested in its senior local servants at the Company's settlements, and later, as its territorial responsibilities expanded, in the Governor and Council of the 'Presidencies'. The policy of keeping judicial appointments under its own control was deliberately pursued at first. It was not until 1726 that specific provision was made, in the charter of that year, for the establishment of civil and criminal courts deriving their authority from the king instead of from the Company. A very important change, however, was made after the fort and island of Bombay, which had been ceded by the King of Portugal to Charles II in 1661, was transferred to the Company in 1668. The royal charter granted in the latter year provided for the establishment of courts on English lines, and, what is of special interest, authorized the Company, under certain limitations, to frame their own laws. Sir C. Fawcett's researches have enabled him to trace a copy of the 'laws' promulgated under this sanction, which have now been reproduced for the first time. Under this charter, moreover, a special court of judicature, the first of its kind in India, was established at Bombay

by that able and broad-minded Governor, Gerald Aungier, to whom that city owes so much. The vicissitudes of this court under a succession of presiding judges has been given down to the year 1728, when the Mayor's Court was inaugurated in its place. The story throws much light also upon the executive administration of the times, and we find interesting character sketches of many men who played leading parts in the affairs of the Presidency. Of other courts of justice in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay shorter accounts have been added. As a result of exhaustive examination of the records still extant, Sir Charles has been able to decide some controversial points and correct some erroneous views that had gained currency in the past.

This is altogether a valuable, and it might be added authoritative, contribution to the history of the development of British justice in India during the period dealt with.

A.322. O.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 48. Explorations in Sind. Being a report of the exploratory survey carried out during the years 1927–8, 1929–1930, and 1930–1. By N. C. MAJUMDAR. 13 × 10, pp. xii + 174, pls. 46, map 1. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1934. 27*s*. 6*d*.

The survey of Mr. Majumdar is a narration of his journeys and explorations in Sind at more than thirty sites besides Mohenjodaro. The plates chiefly represent remains of pottery and ornaments, which show the Indus civilization spread over a wide area. His general observations discuss some interesting points, the absence of any trace of reoccupation after chalcolithic times (ascribed to progressive desiccation) and the problem of contact with the West. The few animal and human remains have been cautiously discussed by Dr. B. Prasad and Dr. B. S. Guha.

A.351. E. J. THOMAS.

THE BASIC CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM. By VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA. Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures, 1932. 9 × 5½, pp. x + 103. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1934.

Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya here gives two lectures, which he describes as an attempt to show the solution that the Buddha found out of the problem that he had before him, this problem being "the cessation of sufferings, which follows the extinction of desire". This is no small task, but he attempts much more. He finds that there is a bewildering divergence among the schools, that the texts are conflicting in many respects and often in a number of points which are vital. As an example of contradictions in "the canonical and most authoritative works on Buddhism", he brings forward the Mādhyamikas and the Yogāchāras, and in the course of a single chapter he ranges from Nāgasena to Chandrakīrti and the Vajrayāna in his pursuit of the basic conception of Buddhism. Fifty pages are hardly enough for that.

A.229. E. J. THOMAS.

DIE LEHRE DER JAINAS NACH DEN ALTEN QUELLEN DARGESTELLT. Von W. SCHUBRING. Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde. Band iii, Heft 7. 10 × 7, pp. 252. Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1935.

The latest volume of the *Grundriss* will be sure of a warm welcome. Jainism or, as the author prefers to call it, Jinismus has not suffered like its great rival from the conflicts and disputes of its expounders, and the author carries on both his own work and that of scholars like Bühler, Jacobi, and Leumann. In his view Jainism is the achievement of a great systematizer. A calculated and comprehensive system from its very nature is incapable of development, and so the religion of Mahāvīra has remained the same to the present day. Hence the author, after giving the history of Jain

studies, with an historical account of Jainism and the Canon, proceeds to the metaphysical basis and cosmology, and then passes to the career of the monk and his victory over the world. The work does not claim to be final, but invites further collaboration. It is certainly a landmark.

A.358. E. J. THOMAS.

BILDWERK UND VOLKSTUM VORDERASIENS ZUR HETHITERZEIT. By A. MOORTGAT. Sendschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 8. 9 × 6, pp. 42, pls. 37. Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs, 1934.

This essay, adequately illustrated and admirably simple, offers to a public not restricted to specialists partly a résumé and partly an amplification of the author's theories concerning sources and currents of art in the ancient Near East as propounded recently in his "Bildende Kunst Vorderasiens und die Kunst der Bergvölker". He employs the title "mountain peoples" to designate under a single term the very diverse nationalities, Hittites, Hurrians and Mitannians, Elamites and Cassites, whose art sometimes reflects, at others significantly diverges from, that of Sumer and Babylon. Dr. Moortgat makes a creditable attempt to advance further the logical task of sorting out by ethnic elements the tangled phenomena of Near Eastern art. He achieves, too, some successes, for example, in identifying the fine bronze male head from Hamadan as an early Elamite work; to have drawn attention to it deserves thanks. Perhaps his flank most open to attack of criticism is his chief innovation (championed in his earlier work) by which he distinguishes beside the cultural spheres of Hittites, Elamites, and Cassites a new cultural area called "Mitannian" assigned to that elusive people the Hurrians extending "from the Taurus to the Zagros and from Armenia to Palestine".[1] This

[1] These people, it is now known from excavation, can have had no connection with the makers of the prehistoric Tell Halaf pottery, as he suggests.

hypothetical unit differs from the others he presents, which are more clearly defined by geographical or national elements; but this, extending over so complex an area, and knit together only by a few recurrent motifs, needs to have its real existence more convincingly proved. Can the Mitannian element in Dr. M.'s "Mitannian area" have been so prominent as to give its name to this whole? The actual Mitannian empire was probably little homogeneous in cultural matters and its influence on its neighbours in this respect was small. If we take the small group of the Hurrian seals from Nuzi to represent the most authentic Mitannian products its art appears to have been feeble, contrary to what we should expect if it was centre of artistic inspiration. Or if Dr. M.'s new unit is one of ideas alone, we have to do with one quite different from the others. It is again uncomfortably comprehensive, if it is to include at its periphery the centre of artistic diffusion with considerable individual character which must have lain in Syria in the second millenium B.C., as contemporary contacts with Crete, Greece, Cyprus, and Egypt, and the finds at Ras Shamra testify. We are, in fact, to a great extent still dealing with unknown quantities, and about Cassite and Mitannian art await further information from the excavators.

A.360. R. D. BARNETT.

UN AMI DE STENDHAL, VICTOR JACQUEMONT. By PIERRE MAYS. 8 × 5, pp. xii + 642, ills. 8, map 1. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie.

The *Letters* and the *Journal* of Victor Jacquemont, the French botanist, who travelled in India between 1829 and 1832, are familiar to those who are interested in the history of Northern India and few can peruse these works without being fascinated by the bright, adventurous spirit in which they were written. M. Mays' book gives us a skilful abstract of Jacquemont's Indian experiences, and this is supplemented

by an account, new to most English readers, of Jacquemont's earlier life in the company of Stendhal, Gérard, Mérimée, and other intellectuals of the French Restoration period. At the recent celebration in Paris of the centenary of Jacquemont's death, the Royal Asiatic Society was represented by one of its most distinguished members and it is interesting to read in M. Mays' book of the cordial assistance given to Jacquemont by the Society during his visit to London in 1828 and of his attendance at the monthly dinner held by the Royal Asiatic Society at that period. This book under review has some interesting illustrations [1] with an excellent bibliography and index, and presents us with a valuable and comprehensive account of a brilliant personality.

A.368. E. D. MACLAGAN

DARIUS THE MEDE AND THE FOUR WORLD EMPIRES IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL. By H. H. ROWLEY. A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xxxiv + 195. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1935. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Opinion probably will be always divided as to the date and interpretation of the Book of Daniel; and in this well-documented work, described by its author as "a historical study of contemporary theories", the reader may gather how divergent are the views of scholars on these points. Professor Rowley deals specifically with two questions under dispute and with a wealth of argument clearly and succinctly marshalled arrives at the conclusion that there is no reliable evidence for the existence of any such person as Darius the Mede but that he is a conflation of confused traditions, a fictitious creation which shatters the claim of the Book of Daniel as a historical work of a contemporary author but

[1] The reader should, however, be warned that the portraits of two of the most interesting subsidiary characters in the book, Jacquemont's father and Lord William Bentinck (pp. 12 and 386), have by some oversight been transposed.

in no way detracts from the value of the message that it is meant to teach, "that men ought always to pray, for the treasures of a deep religious experience are of more worth than the favour of princes, and the power of God is able to laugh at the might of monarchs and the raging of wild beasts."

The other point dealt with is the identification of the four world empires mentioned in the second and seventh chapters of Daniel. These are identified as the neo-Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Greek respectively; and the views opposing these identifications are cogently controverted to our author's satisfaction.

From the positions taken up and so vigorously defended the conclusions arrived at are that the Book of Daniel is not a work of the sixth century B.C. but of the second century B.C.; and that the erroneous identifications running throughout the book are a strong argument in favour of its unity, though not conclusive.

At the end of his thesis our author reasserts his conviction that the historical mistakes of the book "add to the fullness of its religious message to our hearts".

A.405. A. W. GREENUP.

LIBYAN SANDS: TRAVEL IN A DEAD WORLD. By RALPH A. BAGNOLD. 9 × 6, pp. 351, maps 4, ills. 36. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935. 15s.

The most difficult and one of the most desirable qualities in a book of travel is the element of drama. The explorer and his company move against an immense background from one obscure point to another, usually equally obscure and to the lay mind very similar. Apart from the scientific interest of their doings, they are apt to become mere outlines, their living contour disappears; and one would think that the Libyan desert, an emptiness on the world's surface as large as India, would be particularly liable to such a danger.

But there is nothing that is not vivid and alive in Captain Bagnold's manner of writing. Dramatic interest is there,

and he has the gift of imagination to express it, not in terms of human beings, but in the struggle of the machine, the Ford car and lorry, against the desert sand dune.

Captain Bagnold and his colleagues are pioneers of the motor car in sand. No one should venture on a desert car trek without reading this book and making particular notes from the appendix and index, where the fundamental rules, and the most useful advice, the results of long and searching experience, are given for the benefit of later venturers.

The first journeys picked up the traditions of the 1916 Light Car Patrols in Egypt, almost forgotten since the war. They carried the writer and his companions in three cars to and fro about Sinai and Transjordan by ways which are now comparatively commonplace only because these expeditions first showed the possibility of using them.

But it is with the drive to Siwa and the first appearance of the sand dune that the real interest of the book begins.

An immense unexplored tract of dunes shuts off the Libyan desert on the west, north of the equally unexplored plateau of Gilf Kebir. Rohlfs in 1879 nearly lost his life in these dunes. In 1923 Hassanein Bey first crossed the Libyan desert from Kufra to El Fasher, and by the discovery of 'Uweinat made possible Prince Kemal ed-Din's expeditions to the south-west and the discovery of Merga. The era of the motor car in African exploration had begun, but the great blank of the sand dunes remained untouched because of a general conviction that no car could negotiate them. How Captain Bagnold and his party discovered, almost accidentally, that they were vulnerable after all, is best told in his own words;

"Soon another bank of yellow loomed up ahead, continuous, smooth, and featureless. . . . Should we attempt to cross it? There was no alternative unless we gave up altogether, and we were already through the rampart which others had looked at and deemed uncrossable.

"I increased speed to 40 miles an hour, feeling like a small boy on a horse about to take his first big fence. . . .

Suddenly the light doubled in strength as if more suns had been switched on. A huge, glaring wall of yellow shot up high into the sky a yard in front of us. The lorry tipped violently backwards—and we rose as in a lift, smoothly without vibration. We floated up and up on a yellow cloud. All the accustomed car movements had ceased; only the speedometer told us we were still moving fast . . . we were now near the top, a 100 feet above the ground."

The dunes had not said their last word, for they very nearly trapped the party at "the farthest point from anything to drink anywhere in Africa, possibly anywhere on the mainland of the world".

The interest of the book is not confined to the duel of the cars and dunes. The ancient face of the desert which preserves, unchanging, flint instruments of palæolithic man and the skeletons that mark the great slave route, only recently abandoned, is described with an imagination that moves in time as well as space, and with the vividness that comes from the observation of small and unexpected things. Such, for instance, is the description of the tumble-weed, "rolling on and on with the wind, vainly shedding seeds that would never germinate" in the lifeless sand 500 miles from its nearest home: or the "solitary little birds that appeared from nowhere and would flit around silently, alighting for a while to watch, head on one side, craving as we did for something to look at, and perhaps hoping for food. And when we departed they would sit pathetically looking at any empty tin we had left behind before finally hopping into its shade to die".

There is an interesting and sad account of the last miserable wandering of the Arab refugees from Cirenaica where the fate of 'Omar Mukhtar has done much in recent years to make the idea of Italian expansion unpopular among Orientals.

Into these matters Captain Bagnold does not enter, but keeps to the clean desert air, the delight of the unknown, and the romance of his cars: and one cannot do better

to understand the spirit of the book and of the expeditions that inspired it, than quote what he has to say about breakdowns and the joy to be found in attending to them—a joy none the less real because it is possibly confined to the understanding few :—

"Everybody craves at heart, I believe, to cease at times from giving orders and to get down to do some detail personally, to exercise whatever manual skill they have, to feel a pride in contriving something with their hands. . . . Where there is no menial to do the dirty work, and no custom debarring one from doing work oneself, what a secret joy it is to do it, and what a satisfaction when it is complete, to feel that it has been done properly by oneself who understands."

The only fault to be found with this exceptionally good book is the absence of a general index.

A. 408. FREYA STARK.

BYZANTINE ART. By D. TALBOT RICE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xiii + 255, pls. 48, maps 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935. 12*s*. 6*d*.

This little volume forms an excellent introduction to Byzantine art and should fill a useful gap, as it should appeal both to casual or serious traveller and also to the student who is beginning any deeper study of the subject. It can further be confidently recommended to the library of any passenger ship whose lawful occasion may take her into the Eastern Mediterranean. The general point of view which the author has adopted is that of the art historian rather than the archæologist. Clearly within the space that he has allowed himself a complete study of the subject was not possible, and Mr. Talbot Rice has no doubt in places made statements which in a larger work he would have either qualified or supported by further evidence, but that

is the price that any author who attempts to write a short, popular book must necessarily pay. The general scheme adopted is as follows. The author has divided his book into three parts. In the first he discusses the geographical and historical background, illustrating his remarks with some extremely clear generalized maps of the Near East. In the second part after a short chapter on the architectural background he writes a series of chapters of the different media used by Byzantine artists. The author throws his net widely, as he includes not only mosaics, wall, and panel painting and sculpture, but also book illumination and metal work with its attendant subsidiary art of enamelling, textiles, ceramics, and glass. Finally, in a third part, he discusses briefly the relations between Byzantium and the East and the West. Then, lest we should be at fault, he gives us a table of important dates, including the regnal periods of the Emperors. It will be seen from this survey the general outlook of the author. He is concerned with history and geography, and in the latter case not only geographical influences as they affected the maker but also the present actual location of various outstanding examples of Byzantine art. Appreciation on the whole he has avoided, he talks of " superb examples ", of " important paintings ", and so on, but often leaves us somewhat at a loss to know exactly what their artistic merits may be. We are left to judge this from the illustrations which, excellent as they are, can really give us little idea of the strange beauty of some Byzantine work. It was clearly impossible within the narrow compass of a short work to cover every side, but it is to be hoped that at a later date Mr. Talbot Rice will see his way to writing a short appreciation of the works whose historical position he has explained in this volume.

A. 414. L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON.

ERANOS JAHRBUCH, 1933–4. Herausgegeben von OLGA FRÖBE-KAPTEYN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1933, 1934.

These volumes, printed in clear roman letter, contain about fifteen lectures each delivered at the August "summer school", as we should say, meeting in pleasant friendly conference in the garden hall built by the Editor on the Swiss banks of Lake Maggiore. The chief lecturers for these years have been H. Zimmer (Heidelberg), E. Rousselle (Frankfurt-a.M.), F. Heiler (late of Marburg), J. W. Hauer (Tübingen), E. Buonaiuti (Rome) and M. Buber (Heppenheim) not to omit the distinguished Dr. C. G. Jung, of Zürich, and only omitting others for want of space. The general topic is more conveniently described in German as that of *Seelenführung*, but this is not to say that any "guidance" is *ex cathedra* prescribed. The range is entirely expository and analytic; it were well if it were also more historical. In '33 it turned mainly to Yoga and other meditative methods; in '34 it was largely confined to *Symbolik*. These conferences are this year amounting to their sixth occasion, and draw crowded audiences, Oriental *Forscher* also taking part. The volumes contain some curious illustrations.

A. 415. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

THE THIRD ENGLISH EMBASSY TO POONA, comprising *Mostyn's Diary* (September, 1772–February, 1774) and *Mostyn's Letters* (February–November, 1774). Edited by J. H. GENSE and D. R. BANAJI. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xv + 424. Bombay: Taraporevala and Sons, 1934. Rs. 10.

The preface of this useful little work offers the opinion that Father Gense and Mr. Banaji have rendered a signal service by unearthing from the Secretariat Records the rare documents known as the Diary and Letters of Mostyn.

Students of Marāthā history will cordially agree with Mr. Sardesai's views. Mostyn's name is connected with three embassies to the Peshwa's Court at Poona. On 19th August, 1759, the first embassy was entrusted to W. A. Price, Mostyn being sent as his assistant. In 1767, Mostyn went as the Presidency's representative at the Court of Mādhavrao till 1768; and in 1772 he was sent to Poona for a third time. It is with this third period that the Letters deal. They describe the developments in the contest for supremacy between Raghoba and the ministers, and the various reactions of Raghoba's claims to the throne on the Bombay Government, the Nizam, and the other members of the Marāthā Confederacy.

The renewed interest in the history of the Marāthās caused by the publication of the valuable contents of the Peshwa's Daftar makes the issue of these notes of an eyewitness in Poona of very special value. Mostyn tells his story well, and little annotation is required. Many of the footnotes explaining vernacular terms could have been more suitably concentrated in the glossary, wherein note could have been taken of the original use of the word *pattimar* for a news-carrier, now a term for a native craft. In the list of authorities quoted on pp. xviii to xx, it is strange that no mention is made of Campbell as the author of the Bombay *Gazetteer*. The editors appear to have found Kincaid and Parasnis' work worthy of inclusion, while several more valuable works are overlooked. The edition of Grant Duff (1878) quoted is also obsolete. These are small defects. A map would have been a valuable addition to the work.

It will be found useful to all students of the last days of Marāthā rule in the Deccan.

A. 416.

R. E. Enthoven.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM ALISHAR AND VICINITY. By IGNACE J. GELB. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vol. xxvii. Researches in Anatolia, vol. vi. 12 × 9½, pp. xv + 84, pls. lxii, figs. 5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. London: Cambridge University Press, 1935. £1 7*s.*

This is an extremely careful edition of sixty-four Cappadocian tablets and seals, chiefly from Alishar (identified with ancient *Amkuua*) and of some other remains in Hittite hieroglyphic, Greek, and Arabic. In his introduction (pp. 1–18) the author gives a useful survey of the earliest history of Eastern Asia Minor, illustrated by a map (pl. lxiii) of Western Asia of 2600 to 1900 B.C. according to the old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian sources.

A. 425. V. MINORSKY.

THE INFLUENCE OF ARABIC POETRY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN POETRY. By 'UMAR MUḤAMMAD DĀŪDPOTĀ. 10 × 7, pp. xv + 202. Bombay: The Fort Printing Press, 1934. 9*s.*

This book, which was originally submitted as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Cambridge in 1927, is an exceptionally fine and intensely interesting piece of work. It has been dedicated to Professor Nicholson, and it is clear that the author owes a great deal to the constant help and guidance of that fine scholar. It consists of six chapters comprising 192 pages, of which the fifth, consisting of parallel Arabic and Persian passages with renderings into English, extends to eighty-eight pages, almost half of the book, and constitutes by far the most important and interesting portion of it. These passages are arranged under three heads, panegyric, didactic, and descriptive, and by their number and variety they show very clearly the extent to which the earlier Persian poets derived both their technique and their ideas from Arabic poets. The four earlier short chapters

discuss the nature of early Persian poetry, the evolution of Arabic poetry, the reasons for its dominance over Persian poetry, and lastly the extent to which the Persians deviated from the rules laid down by the Arabic prosodists. Of the thirty-five ziḥāfāt (alterations in the standard metrical feet) used by the Persians only twenty-two are originally Arabic. It is explained that the long and heavy metres (Ṭawīl, Madīd, Basīṭ, Kāmil, and Wāfir) used so much in Arabic poetry were found to be inconsonant with the genius of the Persian language and abandoned after a few unsuccessful experiments. The sixth and last chapter, though not strictly relevant to the main thesis, shows how at a later stage Arabic poetry was affected by contact with Persian life and still later by Persian poetry. A bibliography follows at the end and a short index. It is unfortunate that the greatest fields of Persian poetry, the epic and the romantic maṡnavī and the lyrical ghazals, lie outside the scope of this book, but even so those interested in Persian poetry will find much to enjoy. The author's English is excellent and his translations scholarly and accurate. Finally, as an instance of his methods, we may quote the Arabic line of Qābūs bin Washmgīr :—

فى السماء نجوم ما لها عدد   وليس يكسف الاّ الشمس والقمر

"There are numberless stars in the sky, yet of them all the sun and moon alone suffer eclipse." The following line of Ibn-i-Yamin in Persian reproduces exactly the same idea :—

بر آسمان ستاره بود بیشمار لیك   رنج كسوف بر دل شمس وقمر بود

A. 445. † R. P. DEWHURST.

STATE LETTERS OF ASSYRIA. By ROBERT H. PFEIFFER. American Oriental Series, vol. vi. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7$, pp. xii + 265. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1935.

This volume contains translations of 355 of the letters from Harper's volumes of *Assyrian Letters*, with a brief introduction and three indexes, one containing a list of the

letter-writers classified under titles, the second a list of persons or bodies addressed, similarly classified, and the third a full bibliography. Professor Pfeiffer had undertaken his task before Professor Waterman brought out his comprehensive edition but has been able to use that work. Readers will naturally turn from the one to the other, and will find a very large measure of agreement. Where there is opposition the text is generally broken or the language extremely obscure. In many places Professor Pfeiffer has undoubtedly improved on his predecessor's rendering, but not perhaps in all; there are still many passages in this most difficult branch of cuneiform study which require revision. In places Professor Pfeiffer uses transliterations that are no longer accepted; to quote only two, *šeatu* does not exist, the reading is *uṭṭatū*, and *mutir puti* should be read *qurbuti*. But the many questions that might be raised on points of detail do not affect the value of this work. It provides an admirable selection from these letters, and the book will be of the greatest value to students. The printing and format are admirable.

A. 430. SIDNEY SMITH.

LE MUSÉE DE SOUEÏDA: Inscriptions et monuments figurés. Mission archéologique au Djebel Druze. By MAURICE DUNAND. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, tome xx. 11 × 9, pp. 117, pls. 36. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1934.

The Museum of which the present work treats owes its origin to the enlightened enthusiasm of Captain Carbillet, who, first as Intelligence Officer of the French Armée du Levant, and then as Governor of the Djebel Druze, sought to save from destruction or neglect as many as possible of the ancient monuments of that district by gathering them into a central Museum at Soueïda. At his request, M. Dunand was sent out by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres early in 1925 to study the antiquities so collected, to travel

in the Djebel Druze in search of inscriptions and other ancient monuments, and to conduct excavations on promising sites. His work was, however, interrupted in July by the outbreak of the desperate revolt of the Druzes and on his return, in October, 1927, he found the Museum had been pillaged and most of its contents scattered or destroyed, while of the two branch-establishments, formed as provisional depôts for antiquities pending their transport to Soueïda, that at Kafer had suffered little damage, but that at Salkhad had been entirely annihilated by the insurgents. A new museum was built and there a fresh collection has been formed comprising the sculptures and inscriptions which had survived the wreck, together with those which have subsequently been discovered. Unhappily, despite the exertions of M. Dunand and his collaborators, "numerous documents, sometimes of great scientific value, have been irretrievably lost."

Such in outline is the story vividly told in the Preface and Introduction of the present volume, the main body of which consists of a careful and detailed account of 224 antiquities which are, or were, in the collection at Soueïda and its two outlying depôts, accompanied by six photographs of the Museum before and after the revolt and 145 of the objects described. Those now in the Museum, numbering forty-four, are distinguished by an asterisk; the others are published mainly from records made before the disaster.

The sculptures, carved in the hard local basalt, are for the most part crude and lacking in artistic value, though sometimes they display considerable vigour and occasionally they rise—as in the relief (No. 1), now in the Louvre, depicting the judgment of Paris, and a remarkable head of a solar deity (No. 41)—to unexpected heights; but they are of interest as presenting a vivid picture of the religious and cultural influences operating in this remote portion of the Roman Empire. The inscriptions also, of which eighty-nine are

Greek, five Nabatean, and three Latin, though roughly engraved and teeming with orthographical and grammatical errors, preserve for us valuable data for the study of the intermingling strains—Greek, Roman, and Semitic—in the population, the speech, and the worships of this region. And so, though it would be easy to point to typographical and other lapses in the publication of some of the epigraphical texts, and though the absence of a sketch-map indicating the position of Soueïda and the other sites which have been archæologically productive is a serious drawback, our chief feeling as we lay down the work is one of sincere gratitude to its author for having preserved and rendered accessible so much evidence which might otherwise have perished.

A. 432. MARCUS N. TOD.

A HISTORY OF THE LEVANT COMPANY. By ALFRED C. WOOD. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xviii + 263. London: Oxford University Press, 1935. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Mr. Wood has written a serious but withal readable account of the great commercial institution which for two centuries and a half controlled the trade between England and Turkey, coming into existence under Elizabeth, and expiring in 1825 when its work was done. The book is based on the original sources, and is fully referenced; I have detected no mistakes in the portion to which my own knowledge extends; and the treatment throughout inspires confidence in the accuracy of the work. There is a good bibliography; and the index is adequate for names, though incomplete in regard to such commodities as pepper or indigo.

A. 456. W. H. MORELAND.

EXCAVATIONS AT NUZI: Conducted by the Semitic Museum and the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, with the co-operation of the American School of Oriental Research at Baghdad. Vol. iii: Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian texts from Nuzi. By THEOPHILE JAMES MEEK. Harvard Semitic Series, vol. x. 10¾ × 8, pp. lix, pls. cxiv. Cambridge, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1935. $6.0.

The tablets published in the third volume of the *Excavations at Nuzi* by Professor Meek were nearly all brought to light during the excavations of the Harvard-Baghdad School Expedition at Nuzi during the season 1930–1. The tablets, old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian, come from levels anterior to the Hurrian strata, from times when the city of Nuzi was not yet of Hurrian civilization. This is clear especially from the personal names in the tablets, quite different from names in later tablets belonging to levels of the Hurrian town of Nuzi. The name of the town in this older period was Gasur.

Professor Meek gives us in his careful edition of the 231 tablets also a transliteration of some of them, four indices of names, a summary of the contents of the tablets, and a register of them.

The autographed texts are very neat and clear, much clearer of course than is the cuneiform writing of the original tablets. Two plates contain photographs of six tablets.

A. 466. GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

THE LABYRINTH. Further Studies in the relation between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World. Edited by S. H. HOOKE. 9 × 5¾, pp. xiv + 288, ills. 44. London: S.P.C.K., 1935. 12*s.* 6*d.*

This book, edited by Professor S. H. Hooke, and containing eight essays by as many writers, continues the theme set forth in an earlier series of essays entitled *Myth and Ritual*, which

establishes the existence of a typical ritual found in varying forms in the early religions of Egypt, Babylon, and Canaan. The aim of this present volume is to follow the history of this typical ritual and to show its influence upon the development of civilization.

In the first essay, which gives its title to the book, Mr. Deedes shows how the Labyrinth form, associated with religious shrines, and often with a ritual dance, both in Mediterranean lands and in northern Europe, was the centre of activities concerned with life and death. It was a place of concealment for the dead king-god, so that his life in the after-world might be preserved, and also a place to which the living king-god resorted in order to renew his own vitality, while the Labyrinth, as tomb and temple, became a centre for the development of art and literature : for music and dancing, as well as sculpture and painting.

Father Burrows, in an interesting essay on the Babylonian cosmology, notes that the temple, regarded as a link between earth and heaven (cf. the legends of the Tower of Babel and Jacob's Ladder) became the centre of the life of the community, and this, in the Christian Apocalypse, gave rise to the idea of the holy city, itself a temple. In his study of the Jerusalem cultus, Mr. Johnson emphasizes the fact that the king played a vital part in that cultus, and claims that the Feast of Tabernacles really represented an annual revival of the social unit, a struggle between the nations of the earth, darkness and death, and the forces of light and life, represented by the anointed king, who at first undergoes humiliation as the Son, the Suffering Servant, but by the intervention of Jahweh is delivered, " reborn " and enabled to function throughout another year.

Both Dr. Oesterley and Dr. Rankin deal with examples of religious syncretism, the former writing on the cult of Sabazios, derived from the myth and ritual of Dionysos, while the latter writes on the Jewish festival of the Dedication (Hanukkah), showing it to be derived from the Kronos-

Helios festival, with a ritual interpreted to symbolize the rule of Jahweh.

The editor contributes an essay on the myth and ritual pattern in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic, pointing out how the dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of a god (represented by the king), a sacred combat in which the god was victorious, a triumphal procession and a holy marriage, are reproduced in the Christian apocalyptic by the death and resurrection of the Lamb, which assures the final victory of good over evil, and leads to the marriage of the Bride and the Lamb. Professor James also shows how the pattern is found again in the Christian Liturgy, in which the redemptive process is reiterated and Christ "reborn" gives everlasting life to those who partake in faith. In a final essay, Mr. Hocart makes it clear that the real aim of all myth is salvation from death and the attainment of fullness of life.

This scholarly and very readable book will be of great value and interest, not only to all students of the subject, but to many others also. It is well produced and well illustrated, but suffers considerably from the lack of a bibliography, and would have been the better for a fuller index.

A. 474. MARGARET SMITH.

THE LITERARY INQUISITION OF CH'IEN LUNG. By L. C. GOODRICH. American Council of Learned Societies, Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations, No. 1. $10 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xii + 275. Baltimore: Waverley Press, 1935. Price $2.50.

It is a pleasure to have the reviewing of this book and so to be able to congratulate both Mr. Goodrich on an able and successful piece of research and the American Council of Learned Societies on the excellent start they have made on their proposed series of Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations. Yet the book is not very much more than a

beginning, leading one to hope for more, including an estimate of the extent to which the special Commissioners in Peking were able to save works which in their heart of hearts they prized. There are some curious stories current among the staff of the Palace Library. Also one could do with more of the *ipsissima verba* of the really authoritative sources.

Mr. Goodrich describes his main aim as follows :—

> " . . . for all its accuracy, Chinese historical literature, particularly the part of it which was written under the direction of the throne, has been greatly damaged by conscious ' correction ' . . . To put this problem clearly before the public the author has undertaken this study of a censorship of recent times, the proportions and implications of which have only recently been guessed at."

That being his aim, Mr. Goodrich had not a sole and undivided mind in presenting the results of his world-wide search for data. In his report he is anxious to show not merely that the Inquisition actually had more serious consequences on literature than had generally been supposed, but also that Ch'ien Lung was not the debonair monarch his admirers have made him out to be. This Emperor may have had, doubtless did have a genuine interest in literature, but it is now plain that in the plans for the Ssu Ku Chuan Shu he was enormously concerned to carry out a rigorous espionage over what his subjects read and wrote. He did everything he could to destroy seditious literature and perhaps to the same extent heretical books. Mr. Goodrich gives as an approximate estimate :—

> " Works listed for total suppression, 2,320 ; works listed for partial suppression, 342 ; works listed for the erasure of a few objectionable words only, 3."

A grand total of 2,665 works ! That gives one some clear idea of the scope of injury done. No doubt a certain proportion of the works in question would not be of any but very small value to-day, but since so many of them were of a historical

nature and dealt with that turning point in the history of the Chinese *ethos*, the Ming Period, we cannot but deplore the loss sustained. Possibly even more serious is the harm we can only guess at, though with so great a measure of probability: first, the destruction by simple illiterate people of any and every kind of book and wood-block stored in their houses since the days of some illustrious ancestor, and second, the grave discouragement to those that Milton had so much in mind in his *Areopagitica*, "the free and ingenuous sort of such as were evidently born to study and love learning for itself, not for lucre or any other end but the service of God and Truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind." As Mr. Goodrich demonstrates, the Inquisition was no flash in the pan, but became worse and worse over a period of fifty years. The quenching of the flame may therefore be deduced on general grounds. Not only so: as we have recently come to know better, there was a new spirit in scholarship abroad, and a new and more intellectually sincere approach to the nation's traditions was struggling to propagate itself. When writings like those of Ku Zen-wu were proscribed there were but few with the courage and pertinacity of a Tsui Tung-pi, able to carry on with original work through a life time of non-recognition.

Mr. Goodrich adds to our debt by giving us two glimpses of another side to the picture. Chekiang and Kiangsu were the two provinces where private libraries and bookshops (i.e. publishing firms) most abounded. The Emperor knew this and put special pressure to bear on this part of his realm. For a long time he was bitterly disappointed with the results. Obviously many of the scholars there were not sycophants and were not prepared to give up books they valued. The outcome of this temper in these two provinces and elsewhere is to be seen in the impressive list which Mr. Goodrich gives at the end of his monograph,

the list of proscribed works which have survived to the present day. The total runs to nearly 500 works, and this, as Mr. Goodrich says, is not complete. For instance there is the discovery reported this year of a two volume MS. history of the Mings which looks to be by the pen of Lü Liu-liang. Unfortunately Mr. Goodrich has lumped the wholly proscribed and partially proscribed books all together in his list, so that we cannot tell which work comes in which of the two classes.

Mr. Goodrich sought high and low for versions of the Index and is to be congratulated on his final "bag" (see pp. 233-4). There is, however, one version which he failed to run to earth. In a collection of books bought by Bodley's Library from Wylie in 1872 there is a printed book, one volume, with no name of author, no date, and no preface or colophon. Eight sheets of it are devoted to partially proscribed works, forty in all being named with notes on the general tenor of each, the accomplishments of its author, and the nature and extent of the offending passages in it. Forty-seven sheets are devoted to wholly proscribed books.

The total here is 747, not an exact total as some of these titles listed are noted as alternatives to other titles already listed. There is very little annotation here, though for the most part the author's name is given. The order is muddled, e.g. twenty of Lü Liu-liang's books are given but not all together in one place. There is an outside-cover title-slip loose inside the book.

In conclusion, Mr. Goodrich has an admirable section on the various reasons which operated in the Emperor's mind. These are given as eight, the two most important being (1) seditious sentiments and disrespectful references to northern tribes with which the Manchu Imperial family had a historic connection, and (2) statements contradictory to the Cheng-Chu School of Confucianism. Since Mr. Goodrich promises us further work on his fascinating subject, may we suggest that lists showing the number of books

proscribed under each heading would add a useful item to the knowledge we need? Also, could he extend his researches further into previous attempts at proscription? What he gives in outline we should be grateful to have in detail, except in so far as De Groot has already covered the ground. I urge this because, in spite of De Groot's discoveries, I still hold, as I think many others do to-day, that in comparison with other civilizations the Chinese have shown much less of a persecuting temper. It is the measure of the general value of Mr. Goodrich's work that we have a better prospect of verifying the correctness or otherwise of this opinion.

A. 484. E. R. HUGHES.

N.B.—There is one misprint to be noted: p. 52: p'ien-niu should be p'ien-miu.

FOLKLORE FROM ADAMS COUNTY, ILLINOIS. By HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT. (Memoirs of the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation.) 8vo. pp. xvi + 724. New York, 1935.

The "primary purpose of the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation is the publication of technical journals devoted to narrow aspects of scholarly research". But it also subsidizes such volumes as this, containing no less than 10,949 items of folklore from a district of 842 sq.m. on the east bank of the Mississippi, about a hundred miles north of Saint Louis. Of its 62,784 inhabitants 95 per cent live in and around the city of Quincy; German, Irish, and other British ancestries predominate, and Negroes are few, and undistinguished from their neighbours in speech or outlook. The folklore is classified under topics and there is an excellent index, but there is no attempt at commentary; "lore definitely Jewish has been excluded," but there are about 600 items under "Hoodoo and Witchcraft," which it has evidently been found difficult to distinguish.

A. 509. J. L. MYRES.

Arabon ki jahāz-rānī (Arab Navigation). By Syed Sulaiman Nadwi. Islamic Research Association, No. 5. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ix + 199. Azamgarh: Mu'ārif Press. 1935. Rs. 1.

This little book, which forms volume five of the series under publication by the Islamic Research Association of Bombay, is written in Urdu, well lithographed on good paper and well bound and offers a pleasant contrast in appearance and price to many of the books produced in lead type by indigenous presses in India and Iran. The subject, which has been treated in all its aspects, is one of great interest, the navigation of the Arabs from the earliest times up to their eclipse by the Portuguese in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The author has consulted Arab writers very fully and quoted them freely, adding translations in Urdu and copious references. He strays, however, from the path of accuracy when in tracing European naval terms from Arabic originals he includes *corvette* as derived from ghurāb, adding, "One kind of vessel is named ghurāb, the literal meaning of which is crow. In French a crow is *corvett* and in Latin *corbus*. These two words have the one root but it is not known which is the original and which the copy." The author is happier when he sticks to his Arabic texts and avoids comparative philology.

A. 522. M. L. Ferrar.

Annuario di Studi Ebraici diretto da Umberto Cassuto. Volume I: 1934, in memoria di S. H. Margulies. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Roma: 1935, in vendito presso Felice Le Monnier Editore, Firenze.

With this volume, we are told in the Introduction, the publications of "our Institute", the chief centre (can there be more than one?) of *cultura ebraica italiana* of the Mediterranean, are resumed. Its contents are about equally divided between Biblical and Rabbinical literature. The

papers dealing with the former are mostly edifying rather than scientific: possibly the former is the more valuable quality of the two. One study is sober historical research, that of Elia S. Artom on the Origin, Date, and Purposes of the Epistle of Jeremiah, which endeavours to show that the Greek text is a translation from Hebrew, and that the Epistle was composed in the middle of the fourth century B.C., to warn the Israelites against the idolatry which was then contaminating the Zoroastrian monotheism of the Persian empire. It is indeed probable that the Greek is a translation, since it is frequently pointless and unintelligible; and to the evidence that the original was Hebrew perhaps we may add verse 7 (of the idols) ψευδῆ δ' ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ δύναιται λαλεῖν, where ψευδῆ is inappropriate. The original may have been פסילים "graven images" misread פסולים as the same error clearly occurs in Wisdom xv, 9, δόξαν ἡγεῖται ὅτι κίβδηλα πλάσσει, where indeed κίβδηλος "spurious" is a more accurate rendering of a (late) Hebrew פסול, but does not differ materially from ψευδής "false". Signor Artom's arguments for his location of the Epistle are weighty and perhaps convincing.

The portion of the volume which deals with medieval Jewish literature appeals to a smaller public, but furnishes valuable contributions to our knowledge. The great Steinschneider is convicted of several errors, more or less serious. One is mistaking Thomas Aquinas for Themistius! Another is his denial that the medieval Italian Jews possessed translations of the Old Testament in their vernacular; Signor Umberto Cassuto produces two translations of the book of Amos in Italian dialects from MSS. preserved in New York and Parma. Signor Alfredo Freimann contributes a biography and bibliography of a theologian and jurist Menachem b. Aharon ibn Zerach (1310–1385) whose career was passed in Spain. The volume closes with the reproduction of epitaphs from the old Hebrew cemetery in Venice.

A. 564. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Le Choei-King Tchou et l'ancienne géographie indochinoise. Par M. Médard. 10 × 6¾, pp. xi + 67, pl. 1, maps 3. Pékin : Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1935.

This work, though now issued as a separate publication, was written by Mademoiselle Médard as an introduction to notes on the adventures of Fernão Mendes Pinto by the late M. Antoine Joseph Henri Charignon, a railway engineer who served for many years in China and took a great interest in the Chinese language, literature, geography, and history. These and other facts are recorded in the preface. M. Charignon had views of his own on the identification and localization of the place-names mentioned by the early travellers and geographers and in the old Chinese sources, especially so far as concerns South-eastern Asia. The first half of the present work deals from this point of view with some of these Chinese sources, and especially with the one mentioned in the title, of which the relevant portion is given in translation ; afterwards some of the Arabic and other sources are introduced, and throughout there is a good deal of discussion and suggestion regarding the place-names mentioned.

It happens to be the case that the identification of several of these place-names is at present subject to some degree of uncertainty, and one must welcome any well conceived attempt to clear up such doubt. But the nature of the subject and the number of names involved make it impossible to go fully into details here. This is the more unfortunate because, although in some cases the views of the author and the late M. Charignon may be correct, the work gives one the impression that he had far too much of a tendency to locate as many of the place-names as possible in Further India and particularly in French Indo-China. Often the identification of a name seems to be based mainly on a superficial resemblance of sounds, e.g. that of Kisseraing, off the coast of Tenasserim, with Ptolemy's remote Kattigara (p. 47). Incidentally, it seems to me impossible to maintain with Gosselin, whose *Géographie* was published nearly a century

and a half ago, that in Ptolemy's time navigators had not got farther eastward than the Bay of Bengal (p. 44). One has only to plot out Ptolemy's longitudes and latitudes to find an undeniable, though distorted, Malay Peninsula and Eastern Indo-China, though after that they go wrong in making the coast of China run to the south instead of towards the north-east (roughly). To mention another instance, Hiuen Tsang's Samatata is transferred to the lower Mekong, and the next place he mentions (generally identified with Prome and in our text spelt Cheli Tcha-tan-lo) is put in Southern Annam, near the river Donnai (p. 13).

The work should give rise to a good deal of discussion which, it is to be hoped, will clear up many matters that are still in doubt.

A. 545. C. O. BLAGDEN.

LA QUESTIONE DELLA GENESI. By UMBERTO CASSUTO. Pubblicazioni delle R. Universita degli Studi di Firenze. Facolta di Lettere e Filosofia. III Serie, Volume I. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 429. Firenze, Felice Le Monnier, 1934. Lire 60.

The author of this book has subjected the book of Genesis to minute investigation. He is fully acquainted with the works done by his predecessors and takes up the problems independently. In the first chapter he discusses the divine names, Ihwh and Elohim, in the second the contrast in language and style between various portions of Genesis, in the third the internal differences in the stories found in Genesis, in the fourth the parallel texts in which the same story seems to be told a second time and in the fifth the texts which appear to be of a composite character.

Although concentrating his attention on the book of Genesis he also brings occasionally within the circle of investigation the other books of the Hexateuch, i.e. Pentateuch with the addition of the book of Joshua. In the

last chapter he sums up the result of his investigations to the effect that old traditions, some handed down through the ages by word of mouth and some already written down, had been skilfully welded together into one harmonious whole in the time of David. The differences are due to some diversity in the traditions used by the author. The various divine names do not denote, as hitherto assumed, differences of origin, but mark a deliberate intention on the part of the author to accentuate the character of the story in which these names are found. The time of David, so the author of the present work tells us, was the most propitious period in which to bring home to the people, as it were, the importance of the unity of the nation and the realization of the blessings which God had vouchsafed to their ancestors whose history is here told in a manner which appealed to them, since much of it was still a very living and glorious tradition. But the chronological difficulties presented by the book of Genesis the author is at a loss to solve.

It is a very learned and ingenious book, yet, in view of the progressive studies of the Bible which tend to carry back the origin of the Pentateuch to a far greater antiquity and even to assign it a Mosaic origin, it is doubtful whether the results arrived at by the author will meet with general acceptance.

A. 330. M. GASTER.

MEMAR MARQA. By DAVID RETTIG. Ein Samaritanischer Midrasch zum Pentateuch untersucht. Bonner Orientalische Studien, Heft 8. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 74. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934. Mks. 6.

With the exception of the Targum the *Memar of Marqa* is the most important monument of the ancient Samaritan literature. The author, who lived in the third or fourth century C.E., writes his hymn on Exodus, still in the old Aramaic of the Samaritans. It is a mistake to call it a

commentary. Dr. Rettig gives us a brief summary of the contents of the Memar, then a slight comparison with the Targum showing that the quotations in Marqa do not agree with the wording now found in the Targum. After a brief description of the three MSS. used by him, the oldest of which belongs to the end of the fifteenth century, he points out some discrepancies and publishes at the end a short specimen of a critical edition. He adds also the Arabic translation, which he should have printed also in the same Hebrew type as used for the Samaritan, it would have made the literalness of the Arabic translation more evident. It is a good beginning and one may hope that Dr. Rettig will continue his studies of the Memar. It must be mentioned that among the public and private libraries in England there are a good many more MSS. of Marqa's Memar which will have to be used of necessity for any future critical edition.

A. 349. M. GASTER.

ALTHEBRÄISCHE LITERATUR UND IHR HELLENISTISCH-JÜDISCHES NACHLEBEN. Von D. Dr. JOHANNES HEMPEL. (Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft.) 12 × 9¼, pp. 201, ills. 71. Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion m.b.H. 1934.

This is an important work, likely to prove indispensable to students of its subject, and deserving translation into English, though the execution of such a task would prove difficult, partly owing to the intricacy of the author's style, partly to the want of correspondence between the vocabularies of the two languages. It is an endeavour to trace the various forms of composition of which specimens survive in the Old Testament and Jewish monuments of the Hellenistic period to their sources, and to isolate the forces which contributed to their development, and for these purposes copious use has been made both of archæological discoveries in Syria

and Palestine, and of the literatures which Egyptology, Assyriology, and kindred disciplines have rendered accessible. Acknowledgment is sometimes made that the task is not a feasible one: so we read (p. 37) :—

> The tradition, which assigns the greater number of the Psalms to David or persons supposed to have been his contemporaries, and the most recent trend of psalteriology, which squeezes all the odes into a few years of th Maccabean period, display this in common: the denial of the possibility to make out any history of Israelitish lyric.

Even literary artifices are no sure sign of very late composition (p. 38).

Although literary history is in this case a network of hypotheses, which it would be unwise to confuse with ascertained facts, Herr Hempel's work is everywhere instructive, and abounds in acute observations. As an example attention may be called to the differences noticed between the Deuteronomic legislation and other Oriental systems (Hammurapi, Sumerian, Hittite) both in detail and in idea. As another we may cite the analysis of the characteristics which distinguish Israelitish historiography from Assyrian, Egyptian, and Hittite: the first exhibits *bürgerlich-privaten*, the others *königlich- oder priesterlich-offiziellen Charakter*. As a third we may notice the demonstration that the Israelitish priest was not primarily a sacrificer, but (like the Arabic *Kāhin*) an oracle-monger. The explanation of "Urim and Thummim" as "Accursed and Innocent", i.e. oracular replies to a question concerning a criminal charge, is of great interest, but it would be hazardous to pronounce it correct.

A. 363. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

INDIAN INFLUENCES ON THE LITERATURE OF JAVA AND BALI. By HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR. Greater India Studies, No. 1. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvii + 415. Calcutta: Greater India Society, 1934.

The Greater India Society is doing a good work in bringing to the notice of Indian and other readers the important cultural influence which India has exercised in the past on the neighouring countries. Apart from its very creditable Journal, the Society has issued a number of separate publications, of which the book under review is one, and a particularly important one because its main sources, being in Dutch, are not readily intelligible to Indian (and English) readers. The survival of most of the existing old Javanese literature is mainly due to the historical accident that the island of Bali remained Hindu, whereas Java was converted to Islam; and it is only a little more than a century since this literature attracted the serious attention of European scholars, while its systematic study is even more recent.

In the present work we have a comprehensive review of it, under various heads, religious, legal, linguistic (including grammar, etc.), medical, astronomical, epic, legendary and romantic, historical, etc. By far the greater part of this Javanese literature is based on Sanskrit works, and Mr. H. B. Sarkar, besides giving summaries of most of it, has critically studied its relation with its Indian sources, with which he is familiar, and has produced a very readable and useful work. It is to be regretted that in some cases he has placed undue reliance on the statements of older authors, such as Leyden, who have in the main been superseded by more recent research. Leyden's statement (quoted on p. 15) is quite incorrect: the Malay *batara* (or *bĕtara*) not "Vitara" is not derived from the Sanskrit "Avatara", nor the Malay *bulan* from the Javanese "rambulan". The author's technical terms are also occasionally unusual, e.g. "Malayese" (p. 12) for Malays and "Mal-Polynesian" (p. 11 and elsewhere) for Malayo-Polynesian. The fact that the Javanese

alphabet, though of Indian origin, is nowadays recited in an un-Indian order does not seem to me, as apparently it does to some scholars (p. 16), to justify the hypothesis that it was introduced into Java before its order was fixed in India. The Javanese order is purely mnemonic, making good sense in Javanese. "The little island of Sumatra" (p. 59) is about twice the size of Great Britain.

The list of errata and corrigenda is fairly long, but could easily be extended by a careful reader. On p. 77 there are ten misprints (not counting the wrong use of capitals) in as many lines of a brief Malay charm. Such errors must, I think, in fairness be attributed to local circumstances rather than to the author, and they do not seriously detract from the value of his work.

A. 396. C. O. BLAGDEN.

A GRAMMAR OF THE BRAJ BHAKHA. By MIRZA KHAN (A.D. 1676). The Persian text with Introduction, Translation, and Notes by M. ZIAUDDIN, Lecturer in Persian, Santiniketan. With a Foreword by SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.). Visva-Bharati Series, No. 3. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 91, pls. iv. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 1935. Rs. 4.

This little book contains the Persian text of nineteen leaves of a Persian manuscript, which has not been printed anywhere before, and a translation of this portion of the manuscript. The book from which this excerpt has been made was written in the reign of Aurangzīb in the year 1676. At least four copies of the manuscript are in existence. The India Office has a copy which was used by Sir William Jones and contains many notes made by him in 1784. The editor has used this as the basis of his text, but he has also consulted the copies in the Patna Library and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. A fourth copy is included in the Elliot collection in the Bodleian Library, and I have profited by the opportunity of examining this.

The portion of the *Tuhfatu-l-Hind* which has been selected for publication in this volume gives a short summary of the Braj Bhakha language, and it is interesting in itself, though very sketchy and incomplete, and as being the earliest attempt to place on record any of the facts with regard to any modern vernacular language. There does not appear to be anything earlier than the grammar of Hindustani, which was written by a Dutch scholar named Ketelaer about 1715 but not printed until 1743 at Leyden. Besides the translation and text described, this volume gives a synopsis of the other contents of the *Tuhfatu-l-Hind*, which extends over nearly eight hundred pages and deals with a variety of subjects, including chapters on prosody, rhyme, poetics and rhetoric, music, the *ars amatoria*, and the science of character reading. There is also a supplement containing a dictionary of over three thousand words which are explained in Persian, together with elaborate directions for their correct spelling and pronunciation. The present editor contemplates publishing this dictionary and it seems probable that it will be even more useful and interesting to students of linguistics and phonetics than the present publication. Four facsimiles are given of pages of the India Office manuscript and these enable an opinion to be formed of the care and accuracy with which the transcription and translation have been done.

A. 502. † R. P. DEWHURST.

HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS. By IGNACE J. GELB. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 14. 9⅝ × 7, pp. xx + 36. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 1935. 5*s*. 6*d*.

A glance at the articles and monographs about the Hittite Hieroglyphs, which have been published in the last five or six years, makes it clear that genuine progress has been achieved in the decipherment of the signs as well as in the interpretation of the words, thanks to the newly discovered inscriptions and

no less to the assiduous labours of several scholars. But unfortunately, as is not uncommon when new paths of research are opened up, not only differences of opinion but serious dispute have arisen on the subject. Thus this second volume of Gelb's work is chiefly intended as a reply to a severe review of Meriggi (*OLZ.*, 1932, col. 562 sqq.; *RHA*, ii, 5, cf. p. 1) whose duty it will therefore be to go thoroughly into the subject.

Gelb's booklet is devoted in the main to the reading of the phonetic signs, while ideograms are for the most part left on one side. It contains a complete bibliography in continuation of that given in Part I and "General Observations" as to the character of the writing on pp. 1–12, while a short explanation of the values which are attributed to the fifty-seven signs tabulated in the frontispiece is given on pp. 12–36.

The annoyance which some remarks of Meriggi's have aroused in the author is obvious on reading the first few pages, but one is inclined to think that he and other critics have been very useful in inducing Gelb to adopt more "orthodox" methods of expression at any rate. (But I must point out that Meriggi in *ZANF.*, v, pp. 174 sqq., has already adopted the same method of separating phonetic signs from ideograms, of which G. claims to be the author.)

The conclusion which he draws from the small number of the phonetic signs, that the Hittite syllabary only contains "open syllables", seems inevitable and convincing as long as we do not assume, as appears more probable to me, the reading "r" for the "tang" and "s" for the sign which he denotes with "sa". His explanations about the absence of double consonants in the script and the interchange of voiced and voiceless stops are good and clear. But he gets himself into difficulties by denying at the same time the existence of two signs for one value[1]; thus he is compelled to attribute to interchangeable signs like **ḫa** and **ḫe**, **la** and

[1] With the exception of **nu** and **nú**; he traces them back to the same sign, but that seems most unlikely to me.

le (in his transliteration) different vowels which is just another way of saying that we cannot yet distinguish between them. His theory on pp. 9–12, where he explains that the two oblique strokes found below a and i do not denote the length of these vowels but their nasalization depends mostly on his interpretation of a sign to which he gives the value e, but which is read ra by both Meriggi and Bossert, and, as I think, with better reason. "Lack of economy" (cf. p. 9) in writing is no sufficient reason against explaining these signs in the ordinary way,[1] while of the two forms cited on p. 11 as a proof at least one is an Acc. Plur.

It is remarkable though quite comprehensible that in the readings of the single signs G. has changed his mind a good deal: of fifty-seven readings only ten have remained the same. On the other hand his new readings are identical with those of Meriggi's last sign-list in twenty instances and in sixteen others there is only little difference, so that, especially if we remember the animosity of these two scholars, these readings seem certain and a good and sound basis for providing further research work.

A. 511. LEONIE ZUNTZ.

DICTIONNAIRE SANSKRIT-FRANÇAIS. Par N. STCHOUPAK, L. NITTI et L. RENOU. Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. 11 × 9, pp. iv + 897. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1931–32.

No Sanskrit-French dictionary has been published since that of Burnouf and Leupol (1866), and that has so little value that French students of Sanskrit have been obliged to use Sanskrit-German and Sanskrit-English dictionaries. The present publication therefore needs no apology. It is avowedly elementary, and covers a strictly defined range which excludes Buddhist works and literature properly Vedic (but the major Upaniṣads are included). It is of course based primarily on

[1] Cf. e.g. some "plain" writings in Hittite cuneiform.

the Petersburg dictionary, but has made use of those of Monier-Williams and of Apte, of R. Schmidt's *Nachträge*, Jacob's *Concordance*, and Sörensen's *Index to proper names in the Mahābhārata*. A complete lexicon to Bhavabhūti on which Mme Stchoupak herself has long been at work has also been used. Forms and meanings have been verified wherever it seemed necessary in the texts themselves and particular attention has been given to the revision of geographical information and technical terms.

The plan thus outlined in the preface seems to be well adapted to the purposes of the publication, and the names of the collaborators are a guarantee of its adequate execution. The Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres has given its support to the undertaking, and, it may fairly be hoped, has thereby taken a practical step which will promote the study of Sanskrit by young European students—an end which assuredly is of an importance which cannot be exaggerated. The collaborators in this work have therefore done good service to Sanskrit studies.

537. H. N. RANDLE.

STUDIES IN AURANGZĪB'S REIGN. By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR. Studies in Mughal India: First Series. 7 × 5, pp. 302. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar, 1933. R. 2.8.

This is the first part of a third edition of the author's "Historical Essays" first published in 1912, and contains thirteen essays of which six are new, while the others have been revised. Three articles deal with Mu'azzam, A'zam, and Kām Bakhsh and thus supplement the earlier accounts of Aurangzīb's other two sons. Another describes, with copious extracts from her correspondence, Aurangzīb's sister Jahānārā. An article on the industries and foreign commerce of the period and a most valuable bibliographical account of Aurangzīb's letters complete the tale.

The whole work is attractive both for its scholarship and for the skill with which the author has used material for the drawing of character in the case of biographies, and for giving connected accounts in other cases. New material brought to notice by Sir Jadunath Sarkar's own researches has been used.

A small slip at p. 155 may be noted where Shāhjahānpur and Kānt-golā are described as in Bihār, instead of in what is now called Rohilkhand.

A. 171. R. BURN.

كتاب السلوك لمعرفة دول الملوك لتقي الدين احمد بن علي المقريزي

CHRONICLE OF AHMAD IBN ALI AL-MAKRIZI. Edited by M. MUSTAFA ZIADA. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 261. Egyptian Library Press, 1934.

The Egyptian History of Maqrizi has long been known in Europe through the translations of Quatremère and Blochet; the former of these is, as might be expected, a vast monument of learning. Probably the great bulk of the chronicle has stood in the way of the printing of the Arabic original. This has now been started by the Egyptian "Committee for Authorship, Translation, and Publication", and extremely well started; for the typography is admirable, and the edition is based on the author's autograph preserved in Istambul, with occasional help from the excellent Paris copy. The editor has done his work with great care, and while not over-loading the pages with commentary has gone to the best sources for elucidation of his text. One who compares this work with the 1854 edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* will recognize that Egyptian scholarship has made enormous strides during the eighty years.

A. 350. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE PAÑJAB MUSEUM, LAHORE. Vol. III. Coins of Nādir Shāh and the Durrānī Dynasty. By R. B. WHITEHEAD. 10 × 7, pp. lxx + 195, pls. xiv (1 coloured), map 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. 32*s*.

This is the most important work on Indian numismatics which has appeared in recent years. In it Mr. Whitehead has not only catalogued the coins of the series described which are at Lahore, but has also incorporated, in their place in the various series, all specimens illustrating types, mint, or dates not found at Lahore, which he has been able to trace in public and private collections. The result is that he has compiled a corpus which may require supplementing in details, but is never likely to be superseded.

A minority in the Bahāwalpur State in the Punjab gave Mr. Whitehead the opportunity of inspecting the reserve treasury of the State in 1908, where he found nearly half a million gold and silver coins of this series, besides many specimens of Mughul coins. The Lahore cabinet was able to acquire numerous rare specimens and others were made available for purchase by private collectors. Previous publications included fewer than 500 coins of which many were duplicates, while this book describes more than 1,300, of which Lahore contains 673. Mr. Whitehead has practically doubled our knowledge of the number of mints and couplets on the coins.

As in other volumes from his pen he begins with a historical introduction, followed by an account of each mint, showing the names of each ruler who used it, and giving valuable notes on the more striking historical and numismatic information to be gained from the coins. These introductory remarks have involved great research apart from the labour of examining the vast number of coins. And the labour has produced results of great historical value for, as the author says: " The money in mint and date faithfully reflects the vicissitudes of empire." This volume is in fact indispensable as a guide

to the tangled history of the Durrānīs when their power was dissipated among contending factions and was at last usurped by the Bārakzāis. The coins sometimes confirm history, as, for example, the foundation by Nādir of a new town called Nādirābād near Qandahār, or the fear of Nādir which led a deputy governor of Bengal to strike a coin in Nādir's name at a place so far from Delhi as Murshidābād. At other times they correct statements. A coin here shows that Ahmad Shāh had founded his new town Ahmad Shāhī three years earlier than the histories place the date. Miskīn (quoted by Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i, p. 434) says that when Ahmad Shāh took Lahore in 1752 he refrained from striking coin there, at the request of the brave governor who had opposed him, Mu'īn-ul-Mulk (Mīr Mannū). But this Catalogue shows that Ahmad Shāh struck a coin in that year, though the issue was not repeated till five years later.

The completeness [1] and accuracy of Mr. Whitehead's work leave but small occasion for comment. It may, however, be suggested that mintage at Ānwala (Aonla), Barelī, and Murādābād was ordered by Hāfiz Raḥmat Khān, and not by Najīb-ud-daula, whose authority covered the northern parts of Rohilkhand and Sahāranpur, but not the southern districts where these towns lie. Najībābād was, of course, under his authority.

The printing of the book, the reproduction of a portrait of Nādir Shāh, and the plates, are excellent.

R. BURN.

[1] Coin No. 1220 for example shows that to complete the reading of the couplet Mr. Whitehead had to refer to specimens in the cabinets of the British, the Fitzwilliam, and the Lahore Museums, and one in a private collection.

Bien Avant les Phéniciens. By A. Bergy. La Revue de l'Universite St. Joseph. Beyrouth, Lebanon.

This pamphlet describes the finding of implements of early middle and late palæolithic, as well as neolithic dates, under the sand dunes at Beyrouth.

A. 617. Ed.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

The Contending of the Apostles. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. London : Oxford University Press, 1935.

The Book of the Mysteries of the Heaven and the Earth and other Works of Bakhayla Mîkâ'êl (Zôsîmâs). By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. London : Oxford University Press, 1935.

A Sanskrit Reader. Containing seventeen Epic and Puranic Texts, with a Glossary. By J. Gonda. Utrecht : N.V.A. Oosthoek's Uitg. Mij., 1935.

The Illustrated London News

The number for 28th December, 1935, contains a further account of the archæological finds by Professor Janse, leader of the Expedition from the École Française d'Extrême Orient at Dong-son in the province of Thanh-hoa in Northern Annam. The site of the Indonesian Settlement lies in some cultivated fields at the foot of a steep slope, and abutting on the River Song-ma. The finds consist of neolithic pottery and stone weapons, terra-cotta bowls, bronze vases, arms, drums, and ornaments, besides funerary furniture, coins, jade rings, beads, and a few gold objects. They are to be studied closely and described in the near future by Professor Goloubew, who has already lectured before the Society on archæology in those regions. The article is well illustrated with photos of the site, systematic excavations during discovery as well as of the several objects in detail. The designs on the bronze

objects especially show the affinity with Chinese craftsmanship and that of several people of the Dutch East Indies. They show points of contact also with the work of present-day Muongs of Upper Annam and Tonkin, as well as with the Laos and tribes still further west. Articles have been identified with the Han, T'ang and Sung period.

No. 5046, vol. 188, 1936, 4th January. An interesting article by Miss E. J. Lindgren, a member of the R.A.S., on "Divination by 'Magic' Drum", which describes one of the last traces of the old religion of the Lapps (a form of Shamanism). The drums were anathema to the Christian missionaries and were destroyed whenever possible, so that only a few remain. They are profusely decorated with runes and Shamanistic symbols, and it was the movement, while drumming, of an indicator amongst these signs which governed the interpretations of future events.

There is also an illustrated explanation of the peculiar forms adopted by Chinese painters to express their landscapes. This characteristic must have struck most visitors to the Exhibition of Chinese art. But a double page of photographs of Chinese scenery supplies the clue, which is most striking.

No. 5047, 1936, 11th January, gives an account of the recent excavations at Tepe Gawra, near Mosul, in North Mesopotamia, as explained by Professor Speiser. It is of special interest, for it carries evidence of life in the Near East back from the second millennium B.C. into the Neolithic stage of pre-history. This "evidence is enhanced by the clear sequence of its completely excavated levels". Thirteen distinct strata have been identified, and reveal a civilization of far higher refinement than had been suspected.

Egyptian funerary texts from the Old Kingdom to the late Dynastic Period have also been investigated, and have yielded some new light upon that romantic Queen, Hatshepsut, who refused to give up her queenly title upon the death of her husbands. The Rt. Rev. William C. White, sometime Bishop of Ho-nan, a member of the Society, describes the old legend of

the Chinese bronze lamps fashioned in the form of a tree. The story is connected with the Emperor Yao, who reigned about 2357 B.C.

No. 5048 of 18th January illustrates some of the paintings discovered by Professor Tucci, a member of the Society, during his last expedition to Western Tibet. He found them in some of the old monasteries.

Some of the frescoes remind one of those in the Ajanta caves of Hyderabad, though the Tibetan pictures were probably designed by Indian painters of the twelfth century. Professor Tucci brought back to Italy a large collection of works of art, old MSS. and prehistoric objects in addition to a couple of thousand photographs and some film.

In the same number is a description by L. P. Kirwan, Field Director of the Oxford University Excavation in Nubia, of his finds in some Nubian tombs, from Firka, near Wadi Halfa. They include several cases of the sacrifice of slaves and animals to attend their lords in the other world, together with bronze and pottery receptacles and beads. Some of the objects have been provisionally assigned to a period between the fourth and sixth century A.D.

To the south of the main group of tombs were found more tombs, of sixth to seventh century A.D., some of which contained burials of a purely Christian type.

These finds seem to shed a new light upon the Nobatae, or Noba, mentioned in the triumphant stela of 'Ezana, the first Christian King of Aksum, from further up the Nile (c. A.D. 350).

It is recorded that the excavations have to a great extent been made possible through the generosity of the late Mr. F. Ll. Griffiths, a member of the Society.

No. 5053, vol. 188, 1936, 22nd February, includes a well-illustrated article by Professor Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archæological Expedition to Ras Shamra, the old capital of Ugarit, in North Syria, and about 155 miles north of Beirut. The finds included necropolis furniture, figurines, pottery, etc., and a library of cuneiform

tablets, which have an important bearing upon Old Testament history. The levels uncovered include the Mycenæan period of the thirteenth century B.C. and the Phœnician of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. The culture evidenced by the discoveries indicate a wonderfully high plane both in art and construction.

In the same number is a short illustrated account of the inscribed tablets of gold and silver, found by Professor Herzfeld, an hon. member of the Society, while excavating the corner of the magnificent palace at Persepolis "These were laid down, probably in the presence of Darius in 515–510 B.C." Also seven stone tablets, found in a room of the barracks of the military garrison of Persepolis in the time of Xerxes. The inscriptions refer to the crushing of a rebellion caused by the dispossessed priests of the old gods the Daivas, after the worship of Ahuramazda and Arta had been instituted as the state religion. The excavation was carried out by permission of H.M. the Shah of Iran, for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago under the late Professor Breasted, who was also an hon. member of the Society.

Professor Schaeffer continues his description in No. 5054 of 29th February, 1936. He explains the cultural connection between Ugarit and Mycenæan Cyrpus, Crete, and also the Middle Kingdom of Egypt.

During 1800–1500 B.C. Ugarit was fortified. From the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. the enclosure no longer existed. This fact was thought to conflict with one of the Tel Amarna letters, till Mr. Gadd, a member of the Society confirmed a revised reading which reconciles contemporary fact with literature.

The excavations were taken down in places to virgin soil immediately above which was found unpainted pottery of "fairly rough dark grey or blackish earthen-ware, sometimes slightly glossy". It was accompanied by rough flint tools which "prove the level to precede the Copper age".

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

University of Madras

A Complete Up-to-Date Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts to be Published by the University of Madras

All Orientalists and Indologists are familiar with Dr. Aufrecht's monumental work — *The Catalogus Catalogorum*—as an indispensable piece of apparatus for Oriental research. Since 1903, thirty-two years ago, when Dr. Aufrecht completed his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, many important collections of Sanskrit manuscripts within and outside India have come to the notice of scholars and several volumes of catalogues, giving reliable information regarding some thousands of Sanskrit manuscripts, have become available in Madras, Bengal, Lahore, Bombay, Baroda, Dacca, Benares, Travancore, Central Provinces, and Berar, Mysore, and other centres. Highly valuable as are the materials contained in Dr. Aufrecht's great work, it is now found to be defective and incomplete, chiefly in view of the vast accession to the stock of knowledge about the literary treasures in Sanskrit, that has been made available within the last thirty-two years subsequent to the completion of Dr. Aufrecht's work. The need for supplementing Dr. Aufrecht's work was recently brought to the notice of the Madras University, which, in view of the large number of Sanskrit manuscripts in South India, has decided to undertake the preparation and publication of a complete up-to-date *Catalogus-Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, utilizing the invaluable work already done by Dr. Aufrecht as the basis, and containing references to all known Sanskrit manuscripts. The main lines on which this work is proposed to be carried on are indicated below :—

1. Checking and verification of the entries in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Dr. Aufrecht.
2. Introduction of fresh entries in the case of important manuscripts.

3. Dealing with the additional manuscripts collected within and outside India within the last thirty-two years.

4. Entering the dates of works and authors, as far as possible.

5. Incorporation of works known through citations alone, with appropriate references as far as possible.

The University has entrusted the work to an Editorial Committee constituted as follows :—

1. Mahamahopadhyaya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras (on leave), and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras—(Editor-in-Chief).

2. Professor P. P. S. Sastri, M.A. (Oxon), Officiating Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras.

3. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, B.A. (Hons.), D.Phil. (Oxon), Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

Since the success of the undertaking is largely dependent upon the co-operation and help of scholars interested in Sanskrit, the Madras University would earnestly request scholars and Heads of Institutions interested in Sanskrit and Indology to assist it by furnishing information on any or all of the following points :—

1. Places where manuscripts are available, with particulars regarding owners and authors.

2. Lists of manuscripts.

3. Other suggestions for the preparation of the proposed new *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

It is requested that all communications regarding this matter may be addressed to "The Editor-in-Chief, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Museum Buildings, Pantheon Road, Egmore, Madras".

S. Kuppuswami Sastri,
Editor-in-Chief.

Notices

Forthcoming Events

6th–11th July, 1936.—At the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, the Fourth Anglo-American Conference of Historians.

27th August–1st September.—At the University of Copenhagen, Le Quatrième Congrès Internationale de Linguistes.

Attention is drawn to Rule 97, concerning the borrowing of books from the Library for purposes other than review: "In no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months." Members desiring the use of books for a longer term must return them to the Librarian for examination at the end of six months with a suitable request. Should the book not be required it will then be returned to the borrowing member.

The annual List of Members will be published in the *Journal* for July. Members who wish to make any alterations in name, style, or address, must send the fully corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

The quarterly numbers of the *Journal* are forwarded to subscribers about 11th of January, April, July, and October respectively. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should be sent to the Secretary as early as possible, but at any rate before the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted and the number cannot be replaced free of charge.

Authors of articles in the *Journal* who desire more than the twenty off-prints, which are supplied *gratis*, are requested to apply to the Secretary. The cost of extra copies varies in accordance with the length of the article and the number of plates.

In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repair throughout the month of August.

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Vol xiii, Part ii, October, 1935.

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